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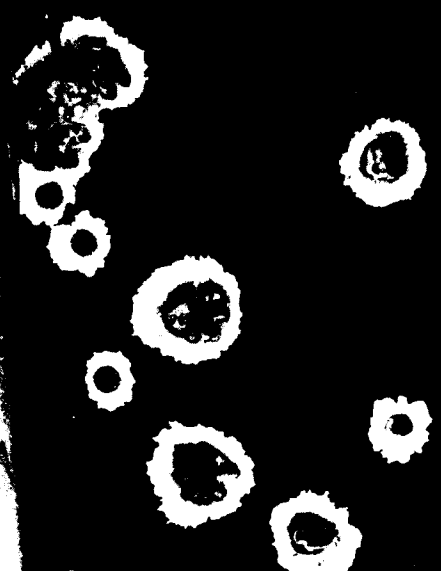
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COINTELPRO:
Psychological Warfare
and Magnum Justice

Congressional
Aide
EXCLUSIVE
Spies on
Left



From Our Readers

Your magazine is fantastic!! I'm so impressed! Keep up the fabulous work.
J.J.
California

Vol. 2, Issue 4 of *CounterSpy* is outstanding. It's hard to put down in words how this helps to raise morale. Just knowing that people like you are right in the middle of the action against the system makes us want to fight harder against injustice.
I think one of our main goals should be to really know and love each other as friends and to always struggle against all forms of injustice — sexism, racism — etc.
The one thing that irks me is that I'm 56 years old and probably won't live to see the big changes that are coming — but you never know. Viva la Revolution!
J. Robinett
Tucson, AZ

The only thing wrong with your publication is that it doesn't come out often enough. If we can help you in any way we would be pleased to do so.
R. Auler
Okauchee, WI

(The possibility of publishing Counter-Spy bi-monthly is under consideration. —Ed.)

I hope you are having fun killing off american security agents and intelligence officers. But just remember what happens to traitors in this nation, retribution will come someday. I don't think the First Amendment to Our Nations Constitution covers acts of traitorism and accomplice to murder. Yes gentlemen murder, because you are wholly and completely responsible for the death of C.I.A. Agent Richard Welch. I have written both to the President and Secretary of State and complained loudly about your traitorous little rag. I pray the FBI shuts you modern Benedict Arnolds down. I fully support the CIA and always will so join your magazine up your ass sideways.
F. Astrip
Cleveland, Ohio

Congratulations on your latest. The new *CounterSpy* is much improved in appearance, readability, and every other way. Feel proud of what you've done, and keep up the good work.
Robert Friedman
New York, N.Y.

I just received your latest issue of *CounterSpy*. You're continuing to do a fantastic job. I would like to mention, for the record, your list of alleged CIA people taken from the *Last Post* is inaccurate. First of all, the Station Chief Cleveland C. Crain (one "m") as revealed by our C.B.C. program "The Fifth Estate," broadcast on January 9, 1974 (starring Bart, Victor, Braden, Winslow and others). Others published in your list are two FBI liaison officers (Marion is the FBI chief in Ottawa), an IRS guy, a DEA guy and a real State Department guy. I think you ought to check these things out from your end before publishing names of "CIA in Canada", which are less than accurate. Keep up the good work.
James R. Dubro
Ontario, Canada

Your efforts are to be commended highly!! Congratulations. Do persevere, do continue the struggle! I enclose a copy of the Wisconsin Assassination Information Bureau's newsletter, the Monitor. It is essentially a collective effort that, money allowing, would indeed be a monthly effort. It is not for lack of material that we've not published since mid-February.
W. Romberg
Milwaukee, WI

I just learned about your work from the March issue of "The Progressive". Please send me your quarterly journal beginning with the 1st issue of 1976. I am a typewriter by profession, hobbies, domestic as well as international. Being 55 years old, I know the history of my country very well, and I am certain that I can learn a lot from your publication and profit by it. And so I think it a *must* reading to learn what is going on in your country and the tenebras which extend across the Atlantic to Europe, and here especially to West Germany!!
F. Jaeger
West Germany

We encourage readers to write to *CounterSpy* about the magazine, the CIA, your local police, right-wing activity, or any other issues of the intelligence community. We appreciate your support as well as your criticisms. Write: *Counter-Spy*, Box 647, Ben Franklin Station, Washington, D.C. 20044.

Should the practice of Spycraft become universal, farewell to all domestic confidence and happiness.
The London Times
Christmas 1859

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COUNTERSPY

The Quarterly Journal of the Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate

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CounterSpy welcomes criticism you may have. Through reader input many important changes in the journal have and will continue to be made.

“The Panthers were dangerous . . . ideas of freedom are always dangerous to oppressive forces.”

Elaine Brown Black Panther Party

Recently new reports have indicated that through the Church Committee's so-called investigation of domestic intelligence activity, particularly the COINTELPRO activities by the FBI, the Black Panther Party was targeted for destruction by the FBI. More FBI activity was directed against the Black Panther Party than any other organization (or individual), according to these reports. There are several serious problems with these reports, however, that must be pointed out, if we, the Black and oppressed people of this country, are to learn anything from such accounts. More importantly, we have to understand why such activities were promoted and realize that they still are today.

The reports reflect that the FBI essentially did little more to Black organizations than cash in on natural divisiveness in the Black community or as one report said, "... let nature take its course". The first thing we need to recognize is the falseness of this idea, of the encouraging of rival "gangs" to fight one another. We can recognize its falseness by definition alone: that the Black Panther Party is or ever has been a gang, that Black organizations rival — for what?; that all the FBI did was set up situations.

We can get back to some of the specifics of these reports after analyzing why all this activity went on. J. Edgar Hoover, queen of every policeman's ball, was constantly trying to propagate the Black Panther party, flagrantly and openly advocated human rights over legal injustices and repression. It became an insult to Hoover. The Party truly did become dangerous to Hoover, as media attention grew. The media was bent on building us up and wiping us out. It was out of the media's constant need to sensationalize that the true ideas the Party wanted to put forward came out: the right to bear arms (the Party's police patrols); the right to eat (breakfast programs); and the need to join electoral politics (running on the Peace and Freedom Party ticket), etc.

The Party was also dangerous because it grew up and came to life in the midst of the ghetto uprisings in Watts, Detroit, Philadelphia, and other cities. The Party synthesized and put into programmatic form, the feelings of anger and frustration demonstrated throughout the country in the middle and late sixties. Martin Luther King and Malcolm X had just been assassinated after they had gotten together and transformed by having dismissed the tactic of non-violence and the ideology of racism. Unorganized violence had blown up the country's centers of industry, but had been put down with the gun and the poverty program. All seemed well by 1966-67 when the Party began, despite the fiery speeches of the Stokely Carmichael and the unrest on campuses of rich kids gone wrong. The danger of the Black Panther Party emerged at the historic point when, the unorganized and disenfranchised began to identify with the Party's Ten-Point Platform and Program. The tenth point summed up what poor people, working people

of all colors understood and expressed in many ways: "We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice, peace and * people's community control of modern technology (* added in 1972). Black Panther Party chapters sprung up everywhere — in 32 cities in one year. The panthers were dangerous — to the power elite — because ideas of freedom, when spread, are always dangerous to oppressive forces. Among those forces was J. Edgar et al, who knew it was too insulting, too embarrassing for their image, to allow the Black Panther Party to continue. By 1968, Hoover had declared that the Black Panther Party was the single most dangerous threat to internal security, only two years after its birth. Armed with more money from the American government, he thought it would be easy then to wipe the Party off the face of the earth. The year 1969 saw this overt program at its height — raids on homes and offices, rampant arrests, and assassinations.

The Party became more dangerous as it began to develop more services and programs, later called Survival programs, which concretely demonstrated, more than any rally, speech, or newspaper, the contradictions in an over-developed, rich country that could not and would not provide for its citizens.

In Los Angeles, California at this time a so-called Black cultural nationalist organization called United Slaves, sprung into action at the heels of the Watts uprising. It was headed by a Ronald Everett to be called "Mauiana Ron Karenga", a magna cum laude graduate of UCLA who had just rid himself of a white wife and a British accent. Everyone was re-grouping from Watts, trying to establish unity in the Black community. Karenga shaved the heads and minds of a few Blacks from the opposite side of town from Watts, gave them some dollars and guns and sent them out. They were to take charge of all the local Black groups through an umbrella organization called the Black Congress. Karenga's troops were feared by other Blacks as the most militant and the most "Black". Within one year, Karenga had everyone who was developing any consciousness, thinking about how good it was to be Black and for- sponsored dark-down striater's parade called the "Watts Festival".

People were still hungry, unemployed, poor, living in decent housing, and suffering from inadequate education. In Southern California Chapter of the Black Panther Party came into being around that same time (late 1967), headed by a native of Los Angeles's Black ghetto, Alphonse "Bunchy" Carter, who was a former leader of L.A.'s 2,000-strong Stansons gang and a former inmate of Soledad prison. Letters were not sent until the police and Karenga finally ordered the deaths of the police and Bunchy Carter over the issue of whether UCLA Black Student union members should work with the campus Brown Berets and SDS or remain isolated in a Karenga-produced Black Studies Program.

It is a hell of a lot better now, as it was then, that Karenga works for and with the FBI. There are many long stories to tell, and they will be told, of the incessant and outright phony reports from the Church Committee cover-ups in themselves. However, we can logically begin to see the one concept and draw certain generalities: If the FBI by rearranging facts or by some working form of the art of illusion, is only indirectly responsible for certain events, how do we reasonably explain that militant organizations, how do we reasonably explain that reports indicate the FBI supposedly tried to divide the Black Panther Party from all other Black organizations, but not other organizations from each other? Or that Karenga, for example, is responsible for four killings of Panther members, according to reports, but the Black Panther Party is not responsible for

COMMENT

After the cake and laughter of a birthday celebration, we often pursue solitude to evaluate and learn from our life experience. Two hundred years old this year, America must trace its lifetime too; crimes of genocide in its global effort to police the world; institutionalized racial and sexual discrimination still exploding throughout the land; planned structural unemployment rising; crimes committed by the highest officials and the universal erosion of confidence in America on its birthday. But the people of this land must swallow a more difficult pill: our liberal democratic traditions are no longer a match for the anti-democratic sentiment gaining momentum among our nation's rulers.

This bitter lesson is best revealed in the current Congressional move to achieve what Richard Nixon only dreamed of — the legalization of illegality. The results of the Congressional investigation into the abuse of power in the intelligence agencies are unfortunate; there will be only more wreaths, more covert wars, more secrets and more spies. This is a natural result of an inquiry plagued by lack of concern for the repression of non-white Americans, a stubborn unwillingness to explore current abuses, and a timid strategy for revealing those of the past. Even if there was no pre-meditated plan to avoid the whole truth and nothing but the truth, the result is the same — a cover-up. Not only does this cover-up hide past skeletons; it builds a larger closet for new ones!

None of the recommendations now before our representatives in Congress advocate outlawing those government crimes, nor will they strengthen the current, but mild laws.

Instead, they recommend that for the first time in America's lifetime, the illegal actions of government be sanctioned by statute. Legalizing covert action will make a criminal out of every cop, and a cop out of every criminal. (CounterSpy is preparing an in-depth analysis of Congressional actions and will publish it in our next issue.)

In addition to legalizing the illegal, there is yet another development. You will notice many times in this issue of CounterSpy, the dramatic increase in privately-organized and privately-controlled repression: Monopoly funded right-wing armies; and merchant-engineered identity systems. They are all examples of business as usual, repression as usual. These lessons have been known to the Third World and poor of our land for many years; they are victims living in a state of constant government crime — 700,000 prisoners. CounterSpy presents a summary of these Third World leaders who have gained the highest respect for their consistency and courageous struggle against the forces of repression. We also present Phil Ochs' latest findings on the world of repression. Phil Ochs' latest findings of ours who fell victim to the inhumanity of these times.

Their words should motivate and guide our bicentennial reflections.

on July 4, to demonstrate against our oppression and Ford's insult. We will be there along side Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans and Chicanos, Philipinos, and oppressed white people. All of those who have histories of oppression by the U.S. similar to ours.

None of them have ever benefited from the government's treatment of Indians. Their tax dollars go for bullets to kill Indian people. They are as ripped off as we are.

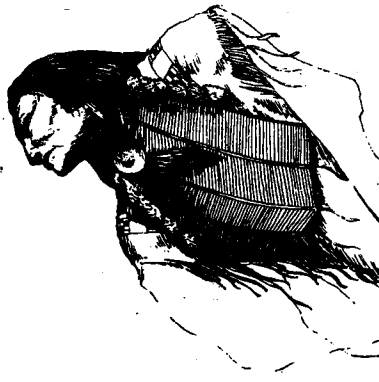
Only those large companies — only the rich — benefit from our oppression.

We look back now to the first, large deliberate massacre of Indians by white settlers; the murder of Metoom (King Philip) and the Wampanoag people in 1676. We look at our great victory over Custer's army in 1876. In 1776 nothing of interest happened. A new government was formed which did not even consider us as fellow human beings.

In 1976 we are fighting for our lives, land and liberty. The more the government oppresses us the more strong is our determination.

In 2076 we will celebrate the freedom we will have won.

**Used with permission from the author.*



cpf

“They cannot paralyze this party.”

Juan Mari Bras Puerto Rican Socialist Party

The present moment is a crucial point in the new struggle for liberation in our country. The intensity of the moment affects all of us who are involved in the great drama of Puerto Rico: both friends and enemies of the people struggling for independence and socialism.

This is no time for mistakes or mystifications. We have put our cards on the table. We feel no one. The things we say have a clear significance and we will always live up to the expectations of our convictions. Recently, we had the opportunity of

explaining our position to North American congresspeople who came to San Juan to celebrate public hearings on the so-called “Compact of Permanent Union Between the United States and Puerto Rico.” These were our words to them:

“We are the only growing force in our country. The continued acts of harassment and persecution by the CIA, FBI, the intelligence division of the armed forces and the repressive agencies of the colonial regime towards us have been useless. The persecution unleashed by police agencies against the patriotic movement, the workers’ movement and the student movement in Puerto Rico will continue to be useless.”

“This homeland — the only one we have — which is free, sovereign and independent. Whatever the cost may be, you can rest assured that the independence of Puerto Rico is an inevitable reality. We want peace, but we are not afraid of war. If the price of peace means to resign ourselves to lose our homeland through the imperialists’ voracity, we are not interested in that kind of peace.”

The congresspeople present knew that with each and every word we spoke, that we fully understood their significance and took full responsibility for the consequences. We were not speaking in the name of one individual. This makes an enormous difference. Our voice was raised on behalf of a great movement which has reached historical proportions and has been embodied in a great Party.

The key to everything lies in an objective fact which is the premise of our warning: we are the only growing force in this country. Imperialist fanaticism intends to break that premise no matter what. They have spared no resources nor do they take into consideration any moral values. Imperialism is an irrational force and its voracity knows no limits nor does it allow them to consider the consequences of any action. This is why their self-destructive nature increases with the decline of their strength. This is so in a historical perspective but that process is characterized by an increase in violence. The wound becomes stronger when, in reality, it has become weaker.

This is happening in Puerto Rico today. Within the last few days the symptoms of imperialist desperation have surfaced. The assassination of our loved and unforgettable Chagui is not an isolated act of some alienated individual. The same hands that manipulate the repressive acts aimed at preventing the rebellion of our people, are the same that pulled the strings of the murderer who committed the felony.

The four Puerto Rican socialists who were captured in connection with explosives is part of that great operation, gruesomely dramatized to an itinerary that has been meticulously executed. We are not going to comment on the facts of this case at this time. We will do it at the proper time and before the proper forums. We can only say that the four comrades who were arrested and accused have the recognition, and the militant solidarity and support of the Party in every respect.

The Puerto Rican people have united despite political differences to offer their solidarity and manifested their outrage with respect to the horrible crime committed against my son. We will never forget that sincere support. We have been deeply touched and strengthened in our conviction that our people maintain a level of sensibility and a sense of justice that transcends all their existing contusions and prejudices.

To convince this noble people of the need and possibility of winning our independence and building socialism is our first priority. We would like to do it in peace. We have no doubt that the struggle for independence and socialism can benefit from intelligent debate, rational discussion of ideas, and confrontation of ideological alternatives carried out before the masses of the Puerto Rican people. Independence and socialism are the only valuable alternatives to the deep crisis that

affects Puerto Rico. But, in order to present all the alternatives to our people, there must be a climate of true peace and equal opportunities. Ours is the revolutionary alternative. We propose, without any ambiguity, the necessity and possibility of a radical transformation. We maintain that it is necessary for the people to organize their forces in order to enforce their rights in the face of any attempt to stifle their collective will when said will becomes fully realized. We will never give up the right to organize that force.

What we are willing to guarantee, on our part, is that the election campaign develop in a peaceful atmosphere this year as long as this is the commitment and practice of all parties involved in the campaign. But for that to happen, it is necessary that we put an immediate end to the siege and aggression, the persecution and conspiracy aimed against the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, its leaders and members.

We propose that the leaders of the colonial parties put all their cards on the table. We invite our fraternal Puerto Rican Independence Party to join us in demanding a complete clean-up in the present political climate in the country.

In order to accomplish this, it is necessary that all the responsible leadership in the country make a commitment, to the people of Puerto Rico, with respect to basic principles and measures to be taken.

We must begin by demanding that the FBI and the CIA, etc. put an immediate stop to their anti-socialist and anti-independence acts in Puerto Rico.

The terrorist bands of the right, organized by Yankee intelligence and supported by a PNP faction, must be dismantled.

The criminal and corrupt elements that operate within the Police Department of Puerto Rico, must be cleaned out. Even Police Superintendent Astol Calero has admitted the existence of a so-called death squadron within the said Department. That criminal gang must be broken up immediately.

The same opportunities that the colonial capitalist parties have with respect to the electoral campaign must be guaranteed, without any stratagems or hypocrisies, for the independence parties so that they can take their messages and political ideology to the people.

If the leadership of the country agrees to provide that political climate, they can count on the Puerto Rican Socialist Party to scrupulously meet the terms of that commitment. The right of our people to hear, discuss, reflect and make their political decisions in peace will then be guaranteed.

Ignoring this proposal made by the Puerto Rican socialists and continuing the repressive and brutal conspiracy against the independence and socialist movements is tantamount to subjugating the country to a state of war. The imperialists, with the active and passive support of the colonial parties, deal us heavy blows, including murdering and arresting many of us. They cannot, however, paralyze this Party which is prepared — after seventeen years of arduous struggle — not only to guarantee the continuity of the struggle, but also to escalate and transform that struggle qualitatively with the greatest speed possible.

Whatever the outcome, we socialists will act firmly and serenely, each of us meeting the task that is clearly defined, no matter which form of struggle we must take on in the immediate future. In the meantime, we will continue to work towards the goals we have set, vigilant of the situation at every moment, and ready to put into action a contingency plan when the need arises.

Juan Mari Bras is the Secretary General of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. Chagui, his eldest son, was murdered in San Juan in April, 1976. The following was reprinted from Chri-dad, April 4, 1976.

“Intelligence operations have turned out to be a domestic war.”

Maria Serna

Crusade for Justice

The Crusade for Justice, since its founding by Rudolph “Corky” Gonzales in 1966, has provided much of the direction and philosophy of the Chicano Movement. It has used its resources, energies, and influence as a Chicano organization to educate people on all oppressive issues, to politicize them, and to enlist them in a movement struggle for human rights. In the process, political corruption and injustice have been exposed, and public figures and established officials and institutions, particularly politicians, police and media, have come under attack for their vicious, racist practices. Through the Crusade newspaper, *El Grito*, and other forms of protest (including taking over City Council meetings), police assault, murder, and crime have been widely publicized and the police involved have been named.

Because of its progressive direction, the Crusade has built organized efforts throughout the country, particularly in the Southwest, as well as strong solidarity bonds with other Third World Liberation movements. It is evident that this organization poses a threat to the oppressive society and to its capitalist rulers who are desperately trying to eliminate our leadership.

Last September 14, 1975, *The Denver Post*, reported the Crusade for Justice was among groups in Colorado that were infiltrated or placed under surveillance by army intelligence. In the 60's, the article further disclosed that the Army shared their “intelligence” information with the Denver Police Department, and, according to sources, it was not uncommon for Army intelligence officers to take assignments from Denver police after assignment requests had been channeled through the state's Army division headquarters.

None of the police assaults against leaders and supporters of the Crusade for Justice can therefore be misconstrued as spontaneous confrontations, as the police and media have often attempted to make the public believe. A repressive trend is clear:

The Centro of the Crusade for Justice, a multi-room facility in the heart of Denver, was bought by the Chicano community in 1968. As such, the premises of the Crusade are private property. It is in this facility that the organization has conducted its community meetings and organizing affairs. It is in this facility, also, that various forms of cultural talent have been developed and performed for the community. It is in this facility that the Crusade for Justice sponsored annual youth conferences in the late 60's during which various political issues were addressed, among them education and the Vietnam war. The positions these youth took in their community has shown strong political awareness. Across the country, Chicano students staged walk-outs in protest against racist teachers and irrelevant teaching materials and curricula.

One such walk-out occurred in Denver at West High School. The community, among them Crusade for Justice leaders and supporters, turned out to rally in support of the students. The walk-out led to riot against the community. Denver police had just returned from a national conference on “riot-control” and had planned to make the community their practice target. Many Crusade and student leaders were arrested and later

acquitted after T.V. films showed it was a police riot. Prior to the trials, a Denver newspaper, *The Rocky Mountain News*, put out an editorial saying that Rodolfo Corky Gonzales and the Crusade for Justice leadership should be gotten "rid of." This was in March, 1969.

In May, 1969, Denver police attacked about 10 or 12 young Chicanos in the Crusade parking lot, some of whom had just returned from a trip to California. Claiming they had come to investigate a fight, 20 police — with several dogs, shot guns and mace — followed the traditional practice of assaulting the youth then charging them with disturbance, resistance, and interference. During the police-provoked confrontation two or three police cars had their windows shattered and all the police incurred some injuries from fists, bottles and bricks).

Among those arrested was Ernesto Vigil, the first Chicano in the Southwest to refuse induction into the armed forces. The Crusade had made strong ties with other Chicano leaders such as Cesar Chavez' farm workers' movement as well as with Reis Tijerina and other members of the Alianza who were struggling for land grants rights in New Mexico. The Black and Brown Berets, particularly active in the Southwest and the Crusade maintained close communications. Solidarity with other Third World movements grew after the Crusade joined the Poor People's March on Washington D.C. in 1968.

With the Chicano Movement gaining national unity, police repression and surveillance on Chicano activists extended across state lines. The intelligence network was determined to break up the threat that was building. Crusade leaders and the developing young leadership found themselves in continual confrontation and often facing trumped-up charges or charges stemming from resistance to unprovoked arrest. Activists from New Mexico were being picked up in Denver on charges after they had been in the city only a short while, and without provocation. One Alianza member, Baltasar Martinez, had been in Denver only two weeks before a police bulletin credited him for the bombing of Denver school buses. After he was proven innocent, the police claimed the accusation against him had been a result of "mistaken identity." Meanwhile, the media took the opportunity to discredit both the Crusade and the Alianza Movement.

When Crusade for Justice members and supporters attended the 1970 National Chicano Moratorium against the War in Los Angeles, California — a moratorium born at a Crusade conference workshop — it came as no surprise that the dozens injured and arrested following a police-provoked riot included 27 Movement activists from Colorado, Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales among them. The activists were stopped in a flat-bed truck that had offered them a ride out of the riot area and were held for robbery and "carrying a concealed weapon" (which was found under the seat of the truck). Later, charges of "crossing state lines to incite a riot" were pursued. Meanwhile Colorado and California intelligence did their homework, alerting the Denver press. The arrests and charges were sensationalized back home. Someone other than the police had to be blamed for the three murders and riot stemming from the police confrontation.

Charges were later dropped against everyone except Corky Gonzales and Alberto Gurule, an activist who at the time was running for Governor under the Crusade-founded Colorado La Raza Unida Party. The trials acquitted Gurule but ended in a hung jury for Corky Gonzales. He was later rearrested and convicted of the concealed weapons charge, for which he served 40 days in jail after losing his appeal.

La Raza Unida Party had made an encouraging impact on local and state elections, in spite of all the yellow journalism which followed the California arrests and trials. Yet, the Cru-

case, but which turned out to have been previously used in another trial in Kansas involving the American Indian Movement. Our solidarity with AIM is also a known subject of investigation. And they dare to charge political activists with 'conspiracy.'

As a Third World organization, we anticipate an escalated campaign against the Crusade for Justice. Our organization is being used not only to justify resources being expended to destroy political movements and develop the growing police state, but as a target of national intelligence operations, sanctioned in the halls of Congress by representatives like Larry McDonald (R-Ga.).

hand guns, rifles, etc. were found. No such inventory of weapons was ever presented in the trials and police inventory lists accounted for less than 20; officials could not account for the discrepancy. Again the media was used to justify police aggression.

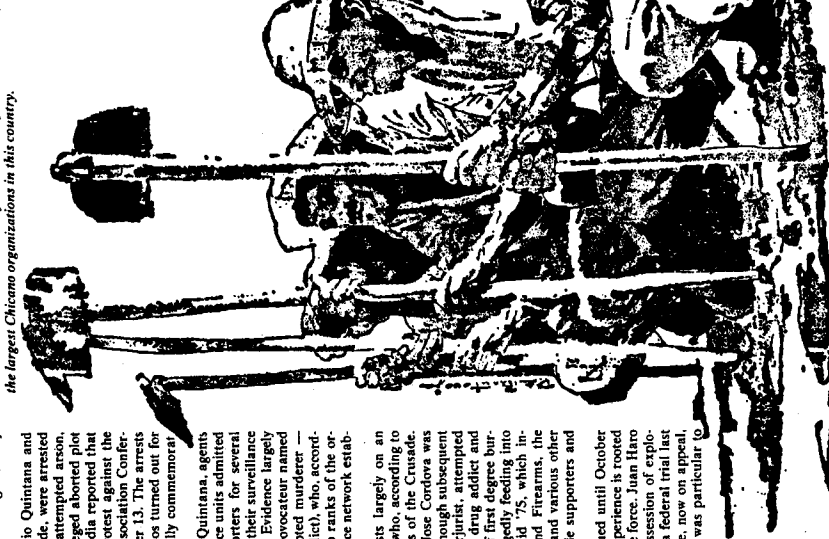
Following the March 1973 defendants' trials, the police had to stage a quick come-back. A grand jury indictment was brought against another Crusade supporter, Gary Garrison, charging him with attempted bombing of a paper store. The bomb had been found undetonated inside a paper bag which prosecutors alleged had Gary's fingerprint on it. The news media boldly printed the fact that Gary was a member of the Crusade for Justice before it even printed his name. After months of hearings and a trial that ended last August, Gary Garrison was acquitted.

One month following this acquittal Antonio Quintana and Juan Haro, a long-time activist in the Crusade, were arrested and charged with attempted murder, theft, attempted arson, and conspiracy to commit all three in an alleged aborted plot to dynamite police substations. The news media reported that this attempt was to have been an act of protest against the holding of the International Police Chiefs' Association Conference in Denver the week beginning September 13. The arrests took place the day after thousands of Chicanos turned out for a Crusade-coordinated protest march and rally commemorating Chicano Liberation Day, September 16.

During preliminary hearings for Haro and Quintana, agents of the ATF, FBI, CBI, and various other police units admitted to surveilling Crusade members and supporters for several months, and, that in fact, the main object of their surveillance were the leaders of the Crusade for Justice. Evidence largely rests on testimony by detectives, an agent-provocateur named Jose Cordova, Jr. (a known perjurer, attempted murderer — exposed by defense attorneys — and drug addict), who, according to detectives, had infiltrated into the top ranks of the organization and was feeding into an intelligence network established since mid '75.

Evidence against Haro and Quintana rests largely on an agent-provocateur named Jose Cordova, Jr., who, according to the police, had infiltrated into the top ranks of the Crusade. In fact, prior to the September 17 arrests, Jose Cordova was unknown to people involved in the Crusade, though subsequent investigation has revealed he is a known perjurer, attempted murderer (exposed by defense attorneys), a drug addict and convicted felon who is now facing charges of first degree burglary in Jefferson County. Cordova was allegedly feeding into an intelligence network established since mid '75, which included the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, the FBI, the Colorado Bureau of Investigation and various other police units charged with surveilling Crusade supporters and members, and particularly the leaders.

The Haro-Quintana trial has been continued until October 6, 1976, before a conservative judge whose experience is rooted in the District Attorney's office and the police force. Juan Haro also faces a six-year sentence for illegal possession of explosives on the basis of Cordova's testimony in a federal trial last January. It should be noted that in that case, now on appeal, a federal agent introduced evidence he said was particular to



Maria Serna is a member of the Crusade for Justice, one of the largest Chicano organizations in this country.

adade for Justice and Raza Unida Party continued under heavy police attack in Denver. In the dawn hours following the November 4, 1970 elections, the Denver police raided the facilities of the Crusade for Justice, which was now housing the State La Raza Unida offices as well as Escuela Tlatelco, the Crusade-founded Chicano alternative Movement school.

Five youth staying at the premises were held with guns to their heads while police ramaged through the building busily in their down doors, going through the closets, offices, school room, coin shop and bookstore and art gallery, destroying what they could. (They did not allow the youth to call the administrators who had keys.) To justify the illegal entry, during which over \$800 in tapes, films, Crusade and school files were stolen, from various offices, police reported to the press that they had found two shotguns in the building.

At a press interview, Corky contrasted this particular police attack with what had been happening to the Black Panthers — the police creating hysteria and paranoia to justify their murders. Published in *El Gallo*, this same interview recounted the break-and-enter laws and other repressive laws that were aimed at stopping political movements rather than 'crime,' in a growing fascist, police state.

Recently, it has been exposed how the government was busy at this time disrupting different Chicano organizations like the Berets and the Chicano Moratorium Committee in Denver, as well as other Chicano Movement organizations across the country, by use of agent-provocateurs. Yet to be disclosed are the full intelligence operations being used to attempt to destroy the Crusade for Justice, although since the early '70's we have witnessed and lost lives to their disruptive tactics.

Police have taken advantage of every routine call to provoke confrontations, confrontations for which they later blame activists and which the establishment media then use to fuel their propaganda campaign. Some incidents have even been reported of police assaulting Chicanos who were not affiliated with the Movement but who were told by police they were 'getting even with Corky.' The attacks have become more widespread as activists gain control of recreation parks and community centers.

Intelligence operations have turned out to be a domestic war, a war that gained force in 1973. It was during 1973 that the strategy to tie up the Crusade leadership and activists in courts was stepped up. In an attempt to curtail our efforts and misdirect our resources, the judicial system was used against over one hundred Crusade activists and supporters. Out of all these cases, there was only one conviction.

On March 17, 1973 police used a jay-walking citation to provoke people leaving a birthday celebration at an apartment complex next to the Crusade for Justice facilities. Before the night was over, Luis Junior Martinez was dead, Ernesto Vigil was shot in the back, dozens of other Chicanos were arrested and four other men were brutalized. Needless to say, it was the injured and brutalized who were charged with 'assault of police officers.'

The confrontation brought in over a hundred police including the bomb squad, which was coincidentally there when an explosion ripped off the roof and wall of one of the apartments. The media 'found no wrongdoing on the part of police.' The subsequent trials proved different; all but one of the defendants, including Ernesto Vigil, whose jury took 30 seconds to render a not-guilty verdict, were acquitted.

Our own information sources attributed the confrontation to police effort to gain entry into the apartment complex, where, according to 'undercover information', the Crusade was storing arms for shipment to Wounded Knee. The only arms stored in the apartments were legally owned by the residents of those apartments, although the media reported that over a hundred

“As the U.S. government slips down, the total outrageousness of it all, forces people forward.”

Phil Ochs

Phil Ochs wrote music which reflected and reported the movement for social change in this country. His songs were lifted from the pages of the daily newspapers and Phil sang for the countless rallies as both education and entertainment for the assembled demonstrators. Active in the civil rights and anti-war movements, Phil developed an interest in liberation struggles around the world. He was invited to Allende's Chile where he sang workers and miners with Chilean Folk-singer Vozes. Following the coup in Chile, Phil organized an anti-fascist rally at Madison Square Garden and persuaded Bob Dylan to perform. Phil became increasingly depressed over personal and political problems in 1969 and died of a heart attack at the end of a rope. *Who follows is an excerpt from a taped conversation between Phil and a friend, Chip Bantz, a radical journalist in Washington, D.C. who recorded Phil's analysis of political events shortly after Nixon's resignation.*

Around the world America's image is deteriorating steadily, because of the erosion caused by neo-fascism and neo-colonialism. The Third World becomes increasingly aware of how much they have been exploited and so they are fighting against tremendous odds to find some form of government that is going to allow them to control their own destiny. What you are seeing is a shifting: coup after coup, either the regular military fighting it out, normal power sources or, (historically) it is engineered by America or Europe or Israel or Japan, who ever is starting to get economic interest there.

With every decade that passes they are getting hipper, more organized, more knowledgeable and more powerful. And the West but the time when the West realizes that they can't keep on playing that old ball game of owning the world. They have to give it up; they have to make their terms, have to rebuild their economies on a smaller and more healthy level.

The actual downfall of Nixon was a political education for the West because the presidency had been mystified so much over the years. It's very important historically that Nixon came along these times; it's almost like it was planned. He had so many coup facets to his life that you couldn't get a better fall guy to represent the corruption of neo-fascist corporate capitalism. He was almost, destined to come into power, and destined to fall from power.

Another key point is that for the first time, the working class became involved with the movement in the same kind of protest. Blue-collar workers in general were very disillusioned with Nixon and the oil companies. There was a general disenchantment.

Also, there was a clear difference between the impeachment and the Vietnamese war because in any wartime, no matter how criminal the war is, you are still open to charges of "treason." People are fighting and dying "over there". In this case, there was so much information that came out about Nixon's corruption that charges of treason were meaningless to the working class.

Jerry Ford is almost as bad as Nixon politically. They are both neo-fascist. Nixon has been in the forefront, making deals, and had been an amateur, while Ford had been in the background playing the legislative game, calmly and correctly from his viewpoint. He has no charisma, no leadership ability, no looks, and no personality. He almost doesn't exist as a presidential figure.

But it is important to study Ford's background, to look at his voting record, to see what he stands for and to realize how dangerous a man he is. In some cases he is to the right of Nixon, on the Vietnam war for example.

The current spathy is different than the 1950's. The people are subdued, they have a feeling of oppression and a feeling of danger that, they could be hurt, killed or jailed by the police or the government. But they do know there is something drastically wrong with this country. They do know we have gone through a criminal war. They do know we have a criminal president. But they feel paralyzed.

They're not interested. They're living out in the countryside in Vermont or they're eating vegetables and avoiding meat as their political statement. Speaking intellectually, they potentially could come back at any point when they felt a resurgence of power or importance.

One reason there are no leaders coming forth is straight fear. The selective assassination of the 'domestic Phoenix program' that went on in America, and still has not been made public, leads everyone in their subconscious to say, "Well, I better not say anything because I might get killed." Nobody, but nobody, is going to get in our way.

Kent State cut out the student movement by and large. It the same way, they moved in on the Panthers and terrified the Black community. Very selective and very clever terrorism. So, you have to be careful.

It is still dangerous in terms of contemporary people. If suddenly, for example, someone's picture was on every front page, was a revolutionary leader, and was on everybody's wall, that would be a way of marking that person for death.

As the U.S. government slips down, its image of power starts to diminish, and the total outrageousness of the situation forces people forward, who normally wouldn't do anything.

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TRENDS



A Washington Post striker led away by Washington Metropolitan police.

Labor Spies Inc.

Private police have moved in on work-places across the country to spy on workers with the tools of advanced technology. Unlike the Pinkerton agents of the 30's, today's labor spies are equipped with TV cameras, lie detectors, and eavesdropping and wiretapping devices. Employers' drive to learn more about those on the payroll has built up an expanding private security industry. The four largest security corporations have enjoyed booming profits in the past few years which they have reinvested in further expansion.

Wackenhut, the third largest but fastest growing firm, now has offices employing more than 14,000 people from Alaska to Brazil to Belgium. It was founded by George R. Wackenhut, a former FBI agent, and three other ex-FBI operatives. It has expanded rapidly into the Caribbean and Latin America, and in 1973 overseas operations alone brought in an additional \$6.9 million in revenues. Its high growth rate is mostly due to its aggressive acquisition of smaller security firms.

As the multinational security firms have professionalized, their corporate customers have changed priorities too. Whatever they were actually doing, there is no doubt that their skills, employed by Graham, paid off. She undoubtedly knew of their whereabouts

and of many of their plans. Other employers are using surveillance tactics to prevent and stifle organizing efforts.

A regional office of the California Agricultural Labor Relationships Board charged the Teamsters Union and the E & J Gallo winery, last winter, with using "massive surveillance" to interfere with the farm workers union representation election held at Gallo on September 10.

At the time of the election, the UPWF charged that Gallo, in collusion with the Teamsters, had systematically followed UPWF organizers and photographed them while they talked to workers about the upcoming elections.

Fred Ross, UPWF director of organizing, described the company's tactics: "At Gallo's Snelling Ranch, I went door to door in the company housing. Each door I knocked on, a guard would take a picture of me talking to the worker." Ross added that, although the ALRB had ordered Gallo to stop this intimidation, the company continued right up to the election.

The board's office also charged Gallo with illegally firing two pro-UPWF employees for their union views.

The Bakery and Confectionary Workers International is also resisting surveillance. A fight is being waged to reinstate a supervisor at Russell Stover Candy Inc., Washington, D.C., after he challenged his boss's surveillance orders as illegal.

University of Wisconsin students working at the student center in Madison fell victim to hired labor spies last fall. Their battle has been largely unsuccessful though, and the unknown spies still circulate their workplace and enforce the speed-up policies declared by management last year.

Presently, private security agencies are free to continue their rampant investigations without fear of discovery because there are simply no regulations for the gun-toting agents and guards.

In Washington, D.C. alone, there are 187 such agencies employing former employees of the CIA, NSA, Interpol, FBI, and local police detective squads. According to U.S. government statistics there were a total of 290,000 regularly-employed private guards and detectives nationwide back in 1969 (some estimates placed that figure as high as 800,000).

Today, in New York City, there are an estimated 40,000 private guards compared to 30,000 municipal policemen and in some places, such as Wall St., rent-a-cops outnumber the regular police by a factor of ten to one.

LEAA Opens Criminal Records



A prospective employer or insurance investigator can now secure criminal histories and conviction records under a new policy making all federally financed criminal information systems accessible for non-law enforcement purposes.

In May 1975, the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) issued regulations restricting release of information only to news media or for employment or government licensing purposes, unless local or state laws specifically allowed otherwise. Within a year, however, the restrictions were lifted. According to an LEAA spokesman: "... Criminal history record information relating to the offense for which an individual is currently within the criminal justice system may be disseminated without limitation." The LEAA announced that it is modifying the regulations in order "to strike a balance between the public's right to know such information with the individual's right to privacy." Others are not so sure whether such delicate decisions should be left up to the LEAA. The new policy began April 19, 1976.

Court OKs Police Set Ups for Dope

On April 27, 1976, the Supreme Court approved, 5 to 3, the Federal Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) practice of supplying supplies and drug dealers with five of the eight justices agree that there had been a due-process violation when an undercover agent of the DEA twice arranged for a suspect to sell heroin to another government agent and then furnished the drugs that were sold.

The decision sustained the conviction of Charles Hamilton of St. Louis, who had contended that the government should be prohibited from prosecuting suspects to whom it had supplied contraband.

William H. Rehnquist went further to say that the government's complicity in crime, no matter how outrageous, could never serve as a defense for a suspect who was predisposed to commit the crime.

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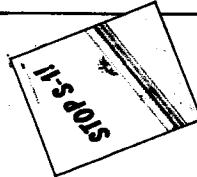
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Books

The FBI: Past, Present . . . and Future

FBI, by Sanford Ungar, *Atlantic-Little Brown and Company, 682 pages.*

If you want to write a "balanced" book on the Federal Bureau of Investigation, you have to make it long. Sanford Ungar attempted that book, and recently presented us with *FBI*, which is almost 700 pages long. For almost two years the FBI opened itself to Ungar; Director Clarence Kelley cooperated and directed other personnel to do the same.

What emerges is a book describing all facets of the Bureau. The intelligence functions of the Bureau, however, stand alone—a part of the Bureau's activities that has served no legitimate purpose. There is no way to balance the burglaries, mail openings, surveillance, and counter-intelligence programs (COINTELPROs) with efficient crime labs, solved bank robberies and car thefts, and dedicated agents.

Four years after his death, the spirit of J. Edgar Hoover remains a force in the Bureau.

Over his almost 40-year tenure as director, Hoover engrained himself into the rules, practices, and attitudes of the FBI. Thus, Hoover-trained people are still spread throughout the Bureau, in the field offices and in the "Seat of Government", as the FBI's Washington headquarters is called.

Reinforcing the spirit of Hoover within the Bureau is a reluctance by the current director to repudiate the activities of COINTELPRO. His motives for this are unclear—do they stem from a desire to sustain morale within the Bureau? From fear of the remaining Hoover lieutenants? Or from a conviction that these activities were actually within the bounds of what was expected of the Bureau by the American people?

Whatever the reason, it is clear that the mechanisms and the personnel for future COINTELPROs remain in place. The Bureau has 169 million fingerprint cards (it is fond of pointing out that it stacked on top of each other the cards would be 108 times as high as the Em-



pire State Building); 6½ million investigative files, and 58 million cards in its general index. There are 8000 FBI agents in the field. Internal security and counterintelligence matters account for 25% of the Bureau's resources, and the Intelligence Division is now so overstuffed that some supervisors are busy barely one-third of each day.

The attitudes of Bureau personnel are also appropriate for future COINTELPROs. Agents would do it all again. As one agent put it in an interview with Ungar:

"Kelley said it won't be done anymore, but I can assure you that it will, informally if not in an official program. Many agents in security work, he said, would not hesitate to try to have the subjects of their investigations fired from their jobs or evicted from their homes, as was sometimes arranged under COINTELPRO. He added that 'if, as a case agent, have on extremist, I would probably do anything I can to put him in jail. If I have to buy information, or read his mail sometimes in order to accomplish that, I would do it. I would conduct a neighborhood investigation just to dis-

credit him, and tell his neighbors about the groups he was affiliated with." This kind of unofficial activity, he explained, might be widely known within a field office where it goes on, but would rarely be documented on paper and therefore could not be proved from the Bureau files.

All that stands between the intelligence bureaucracy and future excesses is the possibility that the American people will realize that the machinery is still all there. Once again the warning of Attorney General Elihu S. Tamm in 1924 should be heeded:

"The FBI is not concerned with political order only with their conduct and then only with such conduct as is forbidden by the laws of the United States. We think it is dangerous to the proper administration of justice and to human liberty, which it should be our first concern to cherish."

Susan Kaplan
Associate, Domestic Security Project
Center for National Security Studies

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Congressional Aide Spies on Left



For the past seven years, a secret right-wing newsletter called *Information Digest* has been delivering some of the most sophisticated analytical reports on the American Left to such subscribers as the FBI, CIA, and the National Security Agency. The *Digest's* reports may be only one toe of a right-wing campaign of spying, massive dossier compiling, information trading, blackmailing, subversion of civil liberties, wiretapping, bugging, plots against progressive leaders, illegal suppression of legitimate dissent, infiltration of government agencies, and crime of all proportions.

The New York Assembly's Office of Legislative Oversight and Analysis recently released an investigative report on a secret "right-wing newsletter" used by the New York State Police to compile dossiers on over one million politicians, political activists, lawyers, writers and show business personalities. The report on the newsletter, *Information Digest*, stated clearly that the mimeographed *Digest* was received by over 40 subscribers and "was the string that held together a network of hidden informants whose information was recorded by police departments throughout the nation without the individual involved knowing the process and without independent checking by the police as to the validity and source of this derogatory information." (emphasis added). But there, the New York inquiry stopped.

A brief investigation by *CounterSpy* now confirms the worst fears contained in the New York report: the information was received and used by the FBI, CIA and the National Security Agency (NSA). *Information Digest* could be just the tip of a rightist iceberg of spying, massive dossier compiling and information trading, blackmailing, subversion of civil liberties, invasion of privacy, plots against progressive leaders, illegal suppression of legitimate dissent, infiltration of government agencies, and crime of all proportions. Experts consulted by *CounterSpy* including Frank Donner, of the ACLU Political Surveillance Project and Wes McCune, veteran analyst of America's right wing, were astounded by the sophistication and depth of *Information Digest*. Donner believes *Information Digest* demonstrates that the private, abundantly financed right-wing elements have better information on liberals and radicals than that normally processed by the government. McCune, who edits *Group Research Report*, a newsletter on the right-wing, was disturbed. Left-leaning lawyers who have examined *Information Digest* believe that, due to misuse of the data, much of the past seven-year history of the movement may have to be challenged and rewritten. All who have become involved with analyzing *Information Digest* believe it indicates that the right-wing privately maintained files that rival those of the FBI.

The Authors and Their Many Faces

The authors of the *Information Digest* are S. Louise Rees and John Rees, better known to the Washington, D.C. Left community as Sheila O'Connor and John Sealey. The two initially came to Washington around Mayday, 1971, having abandoned Left contacts through Abbie Hoffman during the Woodstock music festival. John and Sheila — offhandly associated with several groups of street people called the "Crabs" and the "New York Motherfuckers" — covered themselves by including their names in the *Information Digest* introduction with Mayday and other anti-war activities from 1969-1971. Why anyone would believe that the pair could possibly belong to the "youth culture" is now a mystery. But they became familiar characters in Washington. Sheila, a huge woman, overweight, is at least six feet tall with a large frame,

small facial features, fair skin, dark eyes and long dark hair which she usually wore in a braid; she always dressed in dark, unobtrusive clothing, often jeans and a sweatshirt. John, also overweight and about Sheila's height, had dark hair, wore glasses, and spoke with a British accent. He explained variously that he was from Wales or Surrey, England. He usually wore dark sloppy clothes and often masqueraded as a priest, complete with clerical collar, which fooled no one, but in those days, who cared?

In July, 1971, the couple opened up a "collective" bookstore at 1247 20th St. NW which incorporated a long wall of bookshelves, a series of tables for newspapers, magazines and pamphlets and a section for a Gestetner Mimeograph. A small front in back was used as a meetingplace and office. The storefront was given a dual name: The Red House — eight blocks from the White House and New Foundations — the former to provide movement connections, the latter to give a cloak of respectability for John, the "priest".

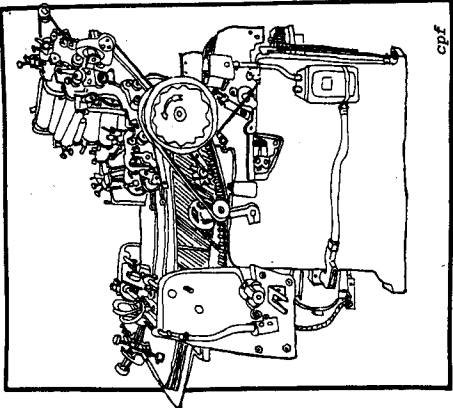
The Red House never succeeded as a bookstore, and its real purpose remained obscure, even to people who worked with Sheila and John. Two letters, drafted mainly by John, went out from the group; one requested five-copy subscriptions to the entire underground press; the other offered to a large number of foreign embassies in Washington, daily delivery of *Peoples World*, *Daily World*, *the Guardian*, the *Liberated Guardian* and other socialist papers for a weekly fee of four dollars. The first letter successfully established a flow of geographically also requested diverse alternative papers. The second, which also requested that the embassy "advise us as the means you consider most appropriate for increasing the contacts between your country and the tendencies we represent", never brought any response.

The only other stock was odd items from RPM Distributing Co., then a new local venture, and booklets from Times Change Press. The Red House continued as a one-man operation, 20 hours a week from September to December, after which it officially closed, obviously having lost its value to the D.C. police who rented and paid for it directly.

Towards the end of the summer of 1971, John and Sheila stopped participating in the Red House to become involved in prison work through the Institute for Policy Studies, where Sheila later obtained a job. After failing to assemble an umbrella organization called "Washington Connections", the couple created CCERL (Coordinating Center for Education in Repression and the Law).

A house at 1616 Longfellow Street in Northwest Washington became the headquarters for CCERL, which originally operated from the loft at the Red House bookstore. CCERL purported to combat police repression, illegal surveillance of protest groups, grand juries and political trials as well as to promote prisoner rights and the abolition of capital punishment. Ironically, CCERL is listed in *The Iron Fist and the Velvet Glove*, the latest progressive analysis of U.S. police published in 1975 by the Berkeley-based Center for Research on Criminal Justice. It now appears that CCERL was actually organized to collect information from such anti-repression groups as the Center for Research on Criminal Justice. A paid request for information recently mailed to the new box number for CCERL (PO Box 35, College Park, Md. 20740) yielded no response, nor was the request returned with "Addressee Unknown."

In September 1972, on the recommendation of a Howard University law student, Sheila was hired as a part-time coordinator of the local office of the National Lawyers Guild (NLG). Sheila immediately took over the preparation of the Guild newsletter which she changed drastically in format and



Some of the same information has also appeared in columns of right-wing commentators.

McDonald had an extremely well-funded 1972 campaign. His district, predominantly white and rural to semi-rural, includes Cobb City near Marietta, the home of McDonald, Douglas plants, and Floyd City near Rome, Ga., a leading center of John Birch Society activism. But the most disturbing information *Counter-Spy* has received on McDonald is not his association with the JBS or *Information Digest*. His name has repeatedly surfaced in rumors widely circulating among black leadership in this country that he was involved in meetings to raise money to assassinate Martin Luther King, Jr. *Counter-Spy* cannot confirm these rumors — although we do understand that the Justice Department is aware of them and may have investigated — nor do we necessarily believe them. But their circulation by responsible leaders warrants investigation by proper authorities including the Congress of the United States.

McDonald is divorced. The exact reasons are unknown but the Capital Hill grapevine has it that he has some sexual problems centered around his extreme versions of patriotism. His wife was awarded the divorce, custody of the children, their home and furnishings and \$1,000 per month alimony plus child support. During his 1972 campaign, he was briefly jailed for failing to make alimony payments. McDonald now is also being sued for \$3.5 million by a widow who claims he illegally prescribed Laetrile as a cure for her husband's cancer. The highly controversial drug is banned by the FDA, but McDonald has been prescribing it for years.

McDonald's frequent tirades in the *Congressional Record* against those he believes are "communists," have primarily been designed to whip up a new red scare in the McCarthyism of the 1950s. He has delivered detailed reports on a broad range of New Left, Third World, consumer, environmental, peace and justice and even paramilitary right-wing organizations and events, including: the National Council of Churches; the November 1975 Teach-in at the University of Michigan; Ann Arbor; the Center for National Security Studies; the American Civil Liberties Union; the Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate, publishers of *Counter-Spy*; NACLA; the Rockefeller Foundation grant awarded to well-known leftist leaders; the Communist Party USA; the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; the Peoples Committee; Trotskyite and Maoist sects such as Youth Against War and Fascism, Revolutionary Union and the October League (copies of apparent internal O.L. Central Committee papers were reprinted from the *Information Digest*). McDonald seems to be singularly concerned with the National Lawyers Guild, however, as was the *Intelligence Digest*. Recently, he has also reported extensively on planning for the July 4th mobilization in Philadelphia by a coalition of Third World and Left organizations.

So far his demagoguery has not impressed the majority of Congress, but it is carrying on the mission of the John Birch Society — to influence the hearts and minds of Americans and eventually achieve political power by mobilizing a dedicated minority of anti-communists. The JBS, a predominantly secret society of 80,000 of America's ruling and middle classes, believes in the conspiracy theory of history: nearly everyone to the left of its founder, retired Massachusetts candy manufacturer Richard Welch, is a member of the "Communist conspiracy," or fellow travelers. The organization, founded in Indianapolis in 1958, operates at the grass roots level through front groups and inside other organizations across

O'Connor, a/k/a Rees, were agent provocateurs. From the report by the Oversight Office we have learned that John had a long career as a "spook." There is concrete information linking him as a paid informant with the Washington, D.C. Metropolitan Police Department and, according to a report, he told the D.C. M.P.D. that he had also worked with the police departments in Houston, on the West Coast, in Maryland, in New Jersey and in New York State. He once offered his expertise in intelligence gathering on the Left to the Washington Post, a private security service in Florida, which also manufactures surveillance equipment. George Wackenhut, contacted by legislative investigators, says John was checked out and found to be a "kook," but their report also says that good authority indicates he was paid for intelligence services rendered.

According to a former roommate, John would often travel to other cities to visit Movement people. Each time, she got reports that things became very agitated and problems always followed his visit. No one outside his roommates saw John very often, and even they did not know him very well. Little is known about him, but the regular investigators did turn up an additional tidbit: that John Herbert Rees was in an orderly in a Massachusetts nursing home before becoming a beneficiary of the will of George Wackenhut, author of *Payton Place*. He maintained a spy ring, brushing off any questions with innuendos that he was into "heavy" things and survived by various illegal hustles.

Sheila seems to have ties with a range of federal and state intelligence agencies including the FBI, New York State Police, Maryland State Police and the Washington, D.C. Metropolitan Police. We now know that she worked for the old House Internal Security Committee which became notorious for its defamatory whitewashes against legitimate dissent.

A Spy in Congress

Sheila is currently an employee of Congressman Larry P. (for Patton). He claims to be related to General George Patton (McDonald, Democrat from Georgia, born in Atlanta in 1935, McDonald graduated from Darlington School in Rome, Ga., and completed premedical training at Davidson College, N.C., after which he went on to receive his doctor of medicine degree from Emory University School of Medicine in 1957. He served four years in the Navy as a physician and flight surgeon, then did his residency at Grady Memorial Hospital followed by three years of postgraduate training in urology at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor. He is a member of the Independent Methodist Church, various medical associations, Rotary, National Historical Society, the Atlanta Astronomy Club, and proudly proclaims he is the youngest member of the National Council of the John Birch Society.

When McDonald first came to Congress as a freshman representative he spent most of his time lobbying to be placed on the House Internal Security Committee, but instead Congress decided to abolish the committee. Since at least April of 1975, McDonald has been regularly placing highly derogatory — not to mention false — information on dissenters and anyone else he doesn't like in the *Congressional Record*. (Unfortunately a Congressman can say anything on the floor of Congress without fear of being sued for slander or libel even though the information is obviously not so.) It is now obvious that most of this information came from the *Information Digest*, prepared by his employee, Sheila, or S. Louise Rees, as she appears on the most recent Clerk of the House report.

content, conspicuously citing names, statements, and meeting places at every available opportunity. (Natively, it was thought at the time that the additional "content" was the result of "new input" and "new energy.") Coincidentally, the new format also had definite similarities to the *Information Digest*, which John and Sheila were covertly mailing to the police, including large-type centered headlines and an occasional splash of dry sarcasm.

During the year and a half in the Guild office, Sheila coordinated several efforts with community groups including the People's Tribunal (which sponsored hearings to investigate police brutality and particularly the murder of a 16-year-old youth during a police stake-out); the Police Brutality Panel, a coalition for handling police brutality complaints; and a panel to investigate a plan by the Council of Government (COG) to set up a large spy network with LEAA funding. Out of the COG investigation, Sheila helped expose the Justice Department's Operation SEARCH (a project to integrate all government computers) during the NLG's National Executive Board meeting in Washington in October 1972. She was elected to the local executive board in January 1973 and later to the National Executive Board in June 1973.

As office coordinator, Sheila was very efficient, taking notes at all meetings, organizing membership, donor, dues and sustainer lists — all of which were typed and disseminated to concerned members inside the Guild, and obviously, as we now know, to a select group outside. In retrospect, it is clear to Guild leaders that she also efficiently miscoordinated events, like the January 1973 citizen hearings called by Congressman John Conyers and 45 citizen groups to investigate the workings of the criminal justice system.

As the Guild contact, Sheila was assigned to organize the program for the second day of hearings. In the eleventh hour it was discovered she had done nothing to prepare the program. On being criticized by the main gatherer, Sheila threatened to sue him and that "she would get his ass." The organizer, a prominent local community activist, had to be dissuaded from making a public statement the day was an agent and had purposefully tried to sabotage the hearings.

Another example of disruptive behavior was reported from the publicity committee of the National Lawyers Guild Convention in February 1973. On at least three separate occasions during the convention, Sheila and John confronted press people escorted by authorized Guild members, challenging their credentials and security. In the middle of a session, Sheila and John, who always sat on the side on in the back, would jump up, Sheila using at the time a "photo" or photographer. "How do you know you're not a pig?" Sheila would physically assault a photographer, and once attempted to not only were meetings disrupted, but various relationships with the conservative Austin, Texas state were effectively destroyed.

Sheila and John would periodically disappear for days at a time during their stay in Washington. The last time they were actually seen was on the June 16, 1973 march to the Watergate by 10,000 citizens protesting Nixon's crimes.

Bad memories abound now. The pistol that unsuspectingly dropped from Sheila's purse one day in the Guild office. The rent-a-car, stolen in the name of the Guild chairperson. The roommate at the Longfellow house, broke into John and Sheila's bedroom, which remained locked during the day and bolted from inside at night. That same woman pulled from her bed and beaten one night later by John on a rampage. All these memories point out one fact: John, Seckey and Sheila

information concerning the post office box, you should contact Captain G.R. Grant, Maryland State Police Headquarters." Post Office box 13144, but has repeatedly refused to explain the circumstances of how the box was rented or used. On one occasion, Grant told the legislative investigators that the conclusion by postal authorities "was no doubt a product of inferences drawn... from the circumstances prevailing at the time the box was rented." According to the report:

"Norpol, now living in California, said he left intelligence work in June 1974 and knew nothing about *Information Digest*, except that John Rees runs it, and that the only reason his name appeared on the publication is that Rees let him use the P.O. box for his personal use. But Norpol says he went to California in July, 1974 and cannot explain why his name was on a Maryland P.O. box opened in December, 1974 except to say, 'You can put anybody's name on a mailbox. I had nothing to do with that.'"

"At one point, Norpol's wife told the legislative investigators that 'friends' had told her to refer any questions about Norpol or the Reeses or the House committee to Otto Otepka, a former State Department official."

"Norpol said that Rees was important not only to his committee and D.C. police but to the federal government: 'The information which he brought before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee was always right on the mark. It provided background leads for the Ventremos Brigade hearings

and on the so-called Left. Rees's information was invaluable to the intelligence community... I don't think Rees got his information from federal agencies. It was my impression that the federal intelligence community was more dependent on him than he was on them...'"

A case in point: Rees invited D.C. police to bug the Red House and the Longfellow Street house, a frequent meeting place for Guild legal people and Marxist activists. There has been no evidence of bugging at Longfellow Street, yet.

In the fall of 1975, the re-arranged first division of the D.C. police and the U.S. Attorney's office began an investigation into possible illegal break-ins and electronic surveillance by the MPD's intelligence division. An internal affairs officer, an Assistant U.S. Attorney and an FBI agent interviewed Rees in a Washington motel room under the condition that they not ask Rees his present address, present activities or present work for any government agencies. Otherwise, his whereabouts have been unknown. Neither the legislative investigators nor *CounterSpy* have been able to track him.

Information Digest appears to have formed an underground link between willing and gullible police departments throughout the nation. According to the legislative report: "Many law enforcement officials say that Rees came through police departments of his importance by tantalizing them with stories of violent plots and by taking information from one department and telling another one what he had just learned." The raw, unevaluated, editorialized and frequently derogatory information was used, according to the report, "to develop dossiers on thousands of patriotic and decent Americans who had committed no crime and were not suspected of committing a crime."

The police are not the only source, if they are a source at all. The information was also collected from publications, such as the newspapers amassed by the Red House bookstore; gossip; and the infiltration of various organizations. At least one expert contacted by *CounterSpy* believes that many younger members of the extreme right have infiltrated the New Left over the past few years to serve as informers for the government and perhaps for right-wing groups. They may be particularly active in the sects where dramatic politics provide an adequate cover for rightists pretending to be leftists. This will deserve further analysis. It is further apparent that *Information Digest* was not only receiving information from government sources but also may have had its own agents in various organizations. One particular report in *Information Digest* indicates that the San Diego Convention Coalition, a consortium of protest groups planning for the 1972 Republican "Convention" then to be held in San Diego had been infiltrated by *Information Digest* sources."

The CLA is a job blacklisting operation which claims to have "over 7,000,000 cross-indexed cards on individuals, organizations, publications and movements which have been attempting the destruction of the United States by way of internal subversion." It was the CLA that put out a 70-page pamphlet on the communist threat of the National Lawyers Guild, which merely expounds the *Information Digest* coverage of the 1973 Guild Convention in Austin, Texas.

The Institute for American Democracy reported in an article on the CLA's blacklisting operations that CLA had notified their customers that they will receive a publication called *Information Digest* from a "shadowy outfit called National Goals, Inc." — the same "oufit" incorporated in New York by John Rees in 1968.

In addition, the Washington Agency, which has strong ties to the IRS, maintains files on thousands of Americans. Fees are paid for Wackelstein's. And the IRS itself published, for profit, the *Biographical Dictionary of the Left* which does on individuals and organizations similar to the one found in *Information Digest*. *CounterSpy* has also heard that the International Association of Chiefs of Police may have received *Information Digest* and used the information to notify employers of activity in their plants and shops.

Obviously the investigation of *Information Digest* has only just begun. Already it is clear that the constitutional right of millions of Americans has been violated by an enormous culture of right-wing extremists, who have the potential to sabotage progressive organizations with impunity. Those who have produced *Information Digest* are extremely dangerous people.

There are several immediate concerns raised by *Information Digest* besides full investigation of those involved. The question which should be asked by any investigation includes:

(1) How widespread is the practice of falsifying station information through government agencies and Congressional offices? *Information Digest* often reported from alleged informants. Second, Congress should decide whether it is legal or proper for a Congressman to commence the mailing of information by republishing it in the Congressional Record, as Lamar McManis has done.

(2) Has *Information Digest* been used as a blacklist? Several lawyers who have checked some 2,000 pages of the *Information Digest* believe that the information could have been used to keep effective law students out of certain law schools because of their ties to unpopular causes or the National Lawyers Guild. It is interesting that one *Information Digest* report on Sally Quinn linking her to Algerian communists, was circulated shortly before she was fired from CBS as a TV broadcaster.

(3) Has *Information Digest* and its reprinting in official government reports and the *Congressional Record* amounted to massive violations of privacy? What privacy laws have been broken? Who is liable?

(4) A serious legal question has been raised by the Oversight Office report. Before the appearance of *Information Digest* it has been assumed by most defense lawyers that the term "confidential informant" referred to an individual. But the report indicates that the New York State Police considered *Information Digest* such a "confidential informant." Many lawyers question the legality of this designation, and wonder in how many court cases over the past few years have the "confidential informants" of police departments been publications of questionable reliability and bias.

These are the questions which should be asked by official investigation. But *CounterSpy* is somewhat skeptical that Congress will undertake such an investigation considering the

For example, *Information Digest* had access to the internal documents of Vietnam Veterans Against the War, including letters from the 1966-67 period, notes from steering committees and background information on New York City-based VVAW leaders. Not all the VVAW information was accurate, especially its analysis of Communist Party influence within the group. They were, however, able to develop insight and understanding of the sectarian questions that finally split VVAW into two separate groups. While some of this information could have been obtained through public sources, *Information Digest* was somehow able to obtain discussion papers and agenda items for the VVAW National Steering Committee Meetings prior to the meetings taking place. This information clearly came through the use of internal sources.

The "Third Agency" Rule

It is also obvious that *Information Digest* was particularly sensitive about its sources. The November 19, 1971 issue contained a lengthy dissertation revealing some of the inner workings of *Information Digest* finances, extent of circulation and the use to which it was put by its subscribers:

It will be apparent to the 40 people now receiving the Information Digest that much of the information is obtained by sources active in radical, so-called revolutionary groups. Uncontrolled dissemination of this information can have the most serious consequences.

Recently the dissemination of information has caused problems to two sources and as a result three people have been removed from our mailing list, and will not be reading this material. In two instances we believe the problem was caused by major breach of confidentiality and a total lack of regard for the accepted "Third Agency" rule.

It is requested that you keep the Information Digest for use within your own organization and do not share it with others; this issue (Nov. 19) in particular is sensitive and should not, under any circumstances, be leaked to any organization or newsmen, however well-established their reputation. If, in your judgment, material should be disseminated, please do not use it in I.D. format; scramble and rewrite!

CounterSpy has learned that *Information Digest* material was not just sent to police departments around the country nor is its use only for a John Birch Society "red scare". Both the Central Intelligence Agency and the National Security Agency have also received this information. Copies of a derogatory and inaccurate report on *CounterSpy* co-editor Winslow Peck from *Information Digest* appeared in his NSA file released under the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA). NSA attributed the information falsely accusing Mr. Peck of LSD usage during a particular event to a "private source". Other copies of *Information Digest* have appeared in CIA files released under the FOIA to other individuals. This has prompted the speculation by some experts that even though this was the product of the extreme right the *Information Digest* may have been sanctioned or in part financed by the massive illegal CIA domestic spying operation, CHAOS. (Interestingly, while Sheila worked in the National Lawyers Guild office, she sometimes signed correspondence "In chaos and struggle.")

Right Wing Files

The *Information Digest* also was probably circulated in other private rightist circles. John Rees is reported by the New York Assembly investigators to have edited between 1969 and 1970 the "National Laymen's Digest," a publication of the Church League of America, based in Wheaton, Ill., a Chicago suburb.

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INFORMATION DIGEST

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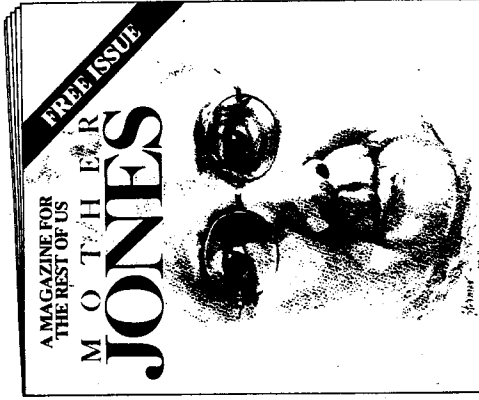
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This information was obtained from a source who provided it to *CounterSpy* under the condition that it be used only for the purpose of the investigation.

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feiler, Pew and Mellon interests. Directors of the League included Al Smith and John J. Rarob. The League later formed affiliations with pro-fascist, anti-labor and anti-semitic organizations.

It established Butler that former New York Governor Al Smith, who had lost the 1928 presidential race to Republican Hoover, could be involved in a fascist plot backed up by wealthy men. But this "happy warrior", who had grown up on New York's East Side, had traded his brown derby for a black one. He was now a business associate of the powerful Du Pont family, who had cultivated him through Du Pont official John J. Raskob, former chairman of the Democratic Party. Under their influence, Smith had grown more and more politically conservative following his defeat.

The Du Ponts owned a controlling interest in the Remington Arms Co., one of whose arms were to be supplied to Butler's Irish army of 500,000 men, many of which were to be recruited through the American Legion.

Chairman McCormack was himself a Legionnaire and the revelation of the plot implicating Legion officials might have been fatal to him. Butler also knew that McCormack bore a detestable dislike of Nazi propaganda and a staunch support of New Deal Finance. Butler counted on his indignation over the conspiracy to bring about a full-scale investigation by the Congress, the Department of Justice. But after a superficial investigation during which many of the principals involved refused the testimony of Butler and others, the matter was dropped.

In 1964, Speaker of the House John W. McCormack recalled the plot in his speech before the Democratic Convention in Atlantic City, springing again a right-wing extremist in the Barry Goldwater camp. The conspiracy inspired the novel *Sunny Days in May*, made into a successful film, which portrayed a fascist plot by high-placed American conspirators to capture the White House and establish military dictatorship under the pretext of saving the nation from communism. Few of the millions of Americans who read the novel or saw the film suspected that it was a solid basis in fact.

Those who refuse to learn from history are doomed to repeat it.

FOOTNOTES

1. Rees may also be the same John Rees listed as a Lithuanian refugee born Vilnius, Lithuania who toured the country for the right-wing American Opinion Speakers Bureau, (February 15, 1964, p. 89) depicting a "communist horde" who forced him to flee Lithuania by force.
2. See "Days of a new day: Requiem for HISC/HUAC" by Sylvia E. Crane, *CounterSpy* Vol. 2, Issue 3, Spring/Summer 1975 for an analysis of the years of HISC/HUAC operations.
3. Read *The Radical Right* by Benjamin R. Epstein and Arnold Forster, Random House, New York, 1967; and William Turner's *Power on the Right*, Ramparts Press.
4. This is an alias used by John Rees Seeley, and not the politician John O'Connor, who for a time infiltrated the VVAW for the D.C. MRD. O'Connor was a member of the VVAW and was a close friend of Rees. He became convinced that VVAW was not a legitimate patriotic dissent and that his spying activities were not justified police work.
5. Otepka has consistently been involved in the red-baiting of HISC and HUAC. (See: "The Trials of an Executive Witness," *Rally Magazine*, November, 1966, and "One Man Against the Establishment," *Christian Crusade* January-February 1968.)
6. This rule demands that when information is transferred to a new consumer the original source, if different from the current source, be protected.
7. *Confessant*, Institute for American Democracy, March, 1969.
8. National Gaik Incorporated was started by John Rees shortly after his work for Church League of America terminated.
9. Jules Archer, *The Plot to Seize the White House*, Hawthorn Books, Inc., New York, 1973.

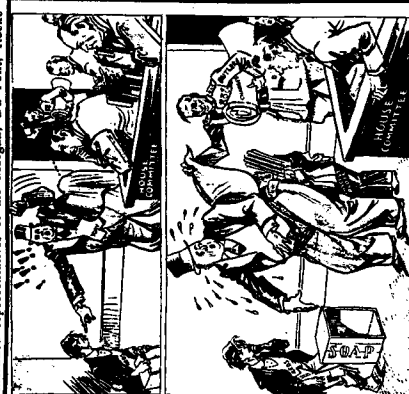
record of such investigations in the past.

Most notable was that investigation in 1933 into an actual attempt to make a fascist puppet of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Major General Smedley Darlington Butler, one of the most remarkable generals in American history, uncovered the plot. A veteran of 35 years in the Marine Corps and twice a recipient of the Congressional Medal of Honor, he had finally decided that "war was racket."

His reputation for patriotism, integrity and dedication to democracy coupled with his proclivity to speak the truth as he saw it, in perspective of official policy, made him a seemingly perfect front for the men who had Roosevelt. They were people with determination, who, if it were possible, to replace the President, sought to manipulate him. Their short-sightedness prevented an American Mussolini. Their shortsightedness prevented their realizing that Butler was obviously the wrong choice for the job.

The McCormack-Directstein House Committee on Un-American Activities hearing dealt with how Butler was approached by representatives of the arch-conservative American Liberty League — some of whose members are believed to be connected to the IRS today — who tried to persuade him to lead an army of veterans in demonstration against Roosevelt's silver standard. Butler quickly concluded that the silver standard controversy was being used as a subterfuge to lead veterans against Washington for truly sinister purposes. Upon discovering the full dimensions of the subterfuge, Butler went to Washington and blew the conspiracy wide open.

The *Philadelphia Record* and the *New York Post* said, under the headline "\$3,000,000 Bid for Fascist Army Bared"; "Major General Smedley D. Butler revealed today that he has been asked by a group of wealthy New York brokers to lead a fascist movement to set up a dictatorship in the United States." The group that approached him was the American Liberty League, which had brokerage head Grayson M.P. Murphy as its treasurer and Robert S. Clark as one of its financiers. One member of the National Executive Committee was John W. Davis, writer of pro-gold standard speeches. Its contributors included representatives of the Morgan, Du Pont, Rocke-



The February 16, 1935, edition of the *Philadelphia Record*.

COINTELPRO

Psychological Warfare and Magnum Justice

“Manipulating police and rival political factions like markers on a monopoly gameboard, the FBI “neutralized” the Black Panther Party in the most brutal sense of the word.”

Tim Butz

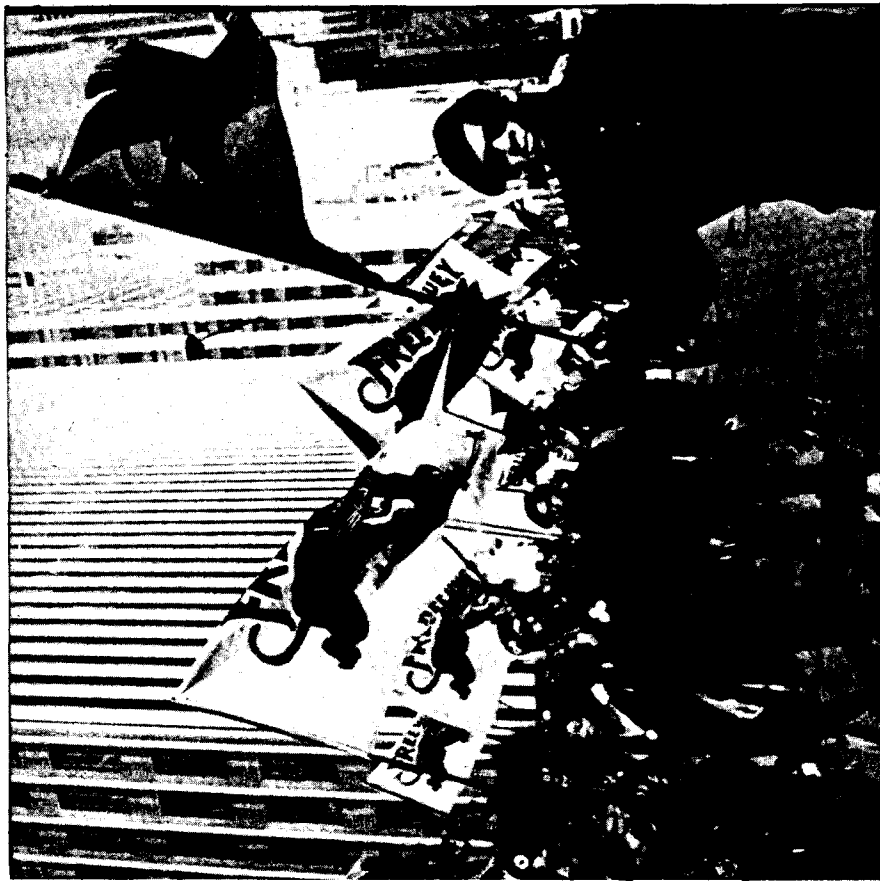
For 15 years the Federal Bureau of Investigation managed a coordinated program of infiltration, disruption, and black propaganda that was mandated and controlled by the highest officials of the Bureau. Known as the Counterintelligence Program, or COINTELPRO in FBI Newspeak, these operations combined the most vicious aspects of psychological warfare and officially sanctioned vigilante terrorism against dissidents and non-whites who challenged the policies of the American government.

In its wake, the COINTELPRO actions of the FBI shattered many lives. Jobs were lost, homes broken up, reputations ruined, organizations crippled and decimated, and people were killed. For Bunchy Carter, John Huggins, Mark Clark

and Fred Hampton, COINTELPRO was more than a psychological warfare operation against them and the Black Panther Party; it was a death warrant to have them killed without making the direct connection to the Bureau itself.

Seven general areas of counterintelligence operations have been described by the FBI, but evidence produced in other areas also existed. Although the FBI is quick to claim to the press that the COINTELPRO was abolished in 1971, they are just as quick to admit quietly to their friends that they have abandoned only a consolidated program and not the tactics of counterintelligence.

COINTELPRO as an exercise in psychological warfare can



best be understood by comparing its stated purpose with the military, Psy-War purpose. According to internal FBI memoranda, the Counterintelligence Program was designed to "explore, disrupt, and neutralize" targeted groups through the use of rumors, lies, half truths and government "front" organizations. COINTELPRO could be termed a "dis-information" program.

Psychological warfare is similarly defined by the Department of Defense and the Joint Chiefs of Staff in the official DoD *Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms*: psychological warfare is the "planned use of propaganda and other measures designed to influence the opinions, emotions, attitude, and behavior of enemy, neutral, or friendly groups in support of cur-

rent policy and aims." A look at the major components of COINTELPRO show that it is compatible with this definition of psychological warfare.

The use of rumors, lies, and half truths is commonly called "black propaganda operations," and is a well established custom within the intelligence community. The FBI used black propaganda, which was a national choice of tactics given the goal of COINTELPRO to neutralize the opposition by manufacturing or exploiting weaknesses. The U.S. Army teaches students at the Army Special Warfare Center at Fort Bragg that "... vulnerabilities can best be exploited by means of black propaganda..." and (it) requires great care and secrecy....

Great care and secrecy were the watch words of COINTELPRO. Had it not been for the burglary of the FBI Resident Agency office in Media, Pa., on March 8, 1971, the existence of COINTELPRO may have never been uncovered. In that burglary, internal FBI memos were stolen and later released to the press. An analysis of the documents showed that 45 percent of the FBI memos dealt with criminal activities, 1 percent with organized crime, 14 percent with draft and military resistance to the Vietnam War, and 40 percent with other political activities. Among the political activities documents were several relating to the Counterintelligence Program. An order to terminate COINTELPRO came within six weeks of the burglary, shortly after the documents were released to the press.

NBC reporter Carl Stern read the Media Papers and, sensing an important story, he filed a Freedom of Information request for the documents authorizing the program. After a two-year legal battle, the FBI released some of the documents to Stern. Stern's attorney, Ronald Plessar, pursued the matter and finally forced the Bureau to release a second series of documents. From Plessar and Stern's work came the first flood of information on COINTELPRO.

Since the first documents released to Stern and Plessar on December 7, 1973, there have been two major lawsuits focused on COINTELPRO. One suit has been brought by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance against the FBI, CIA, and various government officials. The second suit was brought by the survivors of the December 4, 1969 raid on a Black Panther Party apartment and the relatives of two men killed in the raid, Mark Clark and Fred Hampton. The recent House and Senate intelligence investigations revealed a mass of previously unknown facts around the FBI and COINTELPRO. From these major sources, it is possible to see how COINTELPRO developed as a psychological warfare activity.

How COINTELPRO Began

The first FBI counterintelligence operation was initiated in 1956 and targeted against the Communist Party-USA (CP-USA). According to Attorney General Sarab, the effort was justified by "prevailing views in Congress and the American people that the Federal Government should take appropriate steps against domestic subversion." Perhaps the real reason was J. Edgar Hoover's personal dissatisfaction and frustration with the failure of the personal information communists. The Smith Act, designed to destroy the CP-USA and the Socialist Workers Party, had failed to its goals. Of 141 people indicted under the Smith Act, only 29 were served time in prison. When the Supreme Court ruled in 1957 that advocacy of a doctrine or "evil intent" was still covered by the First Amendment, the Smith Act lost its main thrust. It became clear to Hoover that other steps had to be taken. He was easy for the FBI to develop information for a CP-USA COINTELPRO: of an estimated 8,500 members, 1,500 of them were FBI informants and provided a wealth of information on Party structure, finances, and the personal lives of the members. Hoover finally had to order his agents not to recruit any more informants unless they were in "the highest policy making levels" of the Party. On August 28, 1956, the CP-USA began.

One "high level" informant was a Security Officer in the Central Committee of the CP-USA. According to former FBI agent Jack Levine, the Security Officer was responsible for discrediting loyal Party members and granting clearances to others who were actually FBI plants. This tactic was one of many the Justice Department later admitted was a COINTEL-

PRO action.

On October 12, 1961, the FBI turned its sights on the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). According to a memo signed by Hoover, the SWP's sins included their support of "Castro's Cuba", integration, and their sponsoring socialist candidates in local and national elections.

The next target group became those the Bureau termed "White Hate Groups." Seventeen Ku Klux Klan chapters were targeted for COINTELPRO operations under a memorandum that included a subtle note of apology. As if to say that the problem might simply be a few bad apples in the barrel. However, "Often these groups act without the approval of the Klan organization or membership" when conducting attacks against Negro workers and Blacks.

With the expansion of the civil rights movement and the emergence of nationalism among Blacks, Hoover ordered the FBI to target "Black Nationalist - Hate Groups" for counterintelligence disruption. In an August 25, 1967, memo, Hoover outlined the goals of the newest COINTELPRO: "to expose, disrupt, mislead, or otherwise neutralize the activities of black nationalist, hate-type organizations and supporters... leadership, spokesmen, membership, and supporters...".

Six months later, on February 29, 1968, Hoover expanded the Bureau's position on the COINTELPRO-Black Nationalist program with a memo that outlined five specific goals:

- (1) Prevent the rise of a Black "messiah", such as Martin Luther King, Stokely Carmichael, and Elijah Muhammad;
- (2) Prevent violence;
- (3) Prevent Black groups and leaders "from gaining respectability";
- (4) Prevent the long-range growth of Black groups, especially in their recruitment of youth.

A few weeks after Hoover's memo, one of his major adversaries was eliminated. Dr. Martin Luther King, the subject of a seven-year Bureau campaign of wiretapping and harassment, was killed by a sniper in a Memphis hotel. King had changed his hotel after the FBI planted a story in the local press that he was living in a Holiday Inn rather than in a local Black-owned hotel. Deliberate or not, the FBI set Dr. King up for his assassination.

In May, 1968, the FBI began a fifth domestic counterintelligence effort, this time targeted against the predominantly white New Left. The goals were the same: the use of propaganda and other disruptive measures to neutralize an FBI enemy.

Each of the Counterintelligence Programs operated along the same basic lines. At each participating field office (not all offices were involved with every program), a counterintelligence coordinator was selected and charged with supervision of the program locally. It was the coordinator's job to identify the principal weaknesses within the target grouping and devise the proper technique to create the desired disruption or neutralization.

Recommendations for counterintelligence actions were then prepared with descriptions of the target group, the action to be taken and desired results. This letter was then sent to FBI Headquarters in Washington, D.C., where they were either approved or rejected. The official primarily responsible for COINTELPRO was William Sullivan, who in 1961 became the Assistant Director in charge of the Intelligence Division, and his deputy, Charles D. Brennan.

The field office coordinators also provided Sullivan and Brennan with quarterly status reports on the progress of COINTELPRO activities in their areas. These reports broke

COINTELPRO information into four areas: actions pending, actions in progress, actions completed and their results, and miscellaneous information.

This structure and reporting system provided a simple but efficient bureaucratic mechanism for strict control over the program. Headquarters constantly warned field offices to avoid any form of counterintelligence activity without specific authorization from Washington. Under this system of reports, proposals, and evaluation, 3,247 counterintelligence actions were considered and 2,370 were conducted.

In his testimony before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, Deputy Associate Director James E. Adams stated that COINTELPRO actions "were not designed for the purpose of harassment of an individual... they were designed to disrupt groups." In order to conduct the disruptions, the FBI used the oldest pay-war tactic, the manipulation of information.

Spreading Black Propaganda

The most popular tactic was the manufacturing of false and anonymous information and distributing it in such a way as to create or aggravate tension. This tactic accounted for a full 40 percent of all FBI COINTELPRO actions. On one occasion, the Bureau decided to disseminate false information to members of the Oakland, Ca., chapter of the Black Panther Party by fabricating an anonymous "leaf" within the Oakland or San Francisco Police departments. The purpose of the false leaf was to make the Panthers think that the leadership was stealing Party funds, that wiretaps were installed in places where none existed, that loyal members were informants, and other lies designed to promote factionalism.

The tactic of framing Party members as informants was not limited to the Panthers. The FBI used that tactic against both the Communist Party and the New Left.

A variation of this tactic was often used to split Black and White movement groups from cooperating and coalescing. In 1969, the FBI used an informant, in the Black United Front of Washington, D.C., to make false money demands from the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. In a manufactured letter, the FBI demanded the "Mobe" post a high cash bond to insure that Washington's black community would not be harmed by the demonstration. That action succeeded in creating tension between the Mobilization committee and the Black United Front and diverting energy from building the largest anti-war demonstration of the 1960's.

Such black propaganda was also used to create friction between the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and the Black Panther Party. Selected informants within the Illinois Chapter of the Panthers were instructed to create a dynamic, through the use of lies, that would stop the Panthers and SDS from working in a political coalition.

Organizations can sometimes be crippled by the use of a counterintelligence technique against a key individual. In St. Louis, the FBI attempted to stop a white woman who was working with a predominantly Black neighborhood group. In order to neutralize her, the Bureau sent an anonymous letter to the woman's husband alleging infidelity and adultery. The letter was written in street language and purported to be from "some Black sisters"; it complained that the woman was sleeping with "their men."

The second most popular tactic used in COINTELPRO was the dissemination of confidential and semi-public information to friendly sources within the media. As the final report of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence points out, the FBI for years had developed a media liaison program that allowed

them to use journalists as intelligence sources and as active agents in distributing FBI black propaganda.

The purpose of this type of action was to embarrass (and therefore affect the political power of) key movement activists. The most notorious examples of this were in connection with the Bureau's attempts to discredit and even blackmail Dr. Martin Luther King through the use of tapes made of Dr. King's private life. At one point, Senate investigators found that the FBI had gone so far as to even suggest to Dr. King that he should commit suicide several weeks before he was to travel to Stockholm and receive the Nobel Peace Prize.

Official FBI records show that this blackmail/black propaganda operation was used by the FBI in 20 percent of all COINTELPRO actions.

Information was also provided to local authorities and other Federal agencies in hopes of having people arrested or harassed. The FBI used this tactic in 1967 to have black leaders in one unidentified town arrested and re-arrested on minor local charges until they could no longer meet bail. The FBI then congratulated itself because there were no riots in the town that summer.

The FBI went to Washington, D.C., building officials on another occasion and requested that they check a local private school run by the Nation of Islam (Black Muslims). The FBI had hoped that the building inspectors would find enough violations of the building code to have the school closed down. While they did not succeed in that goal, they were pleased by an added side benefit; through the housing inspectors they obtained the names and backgrounds of all the parents and students at the school.

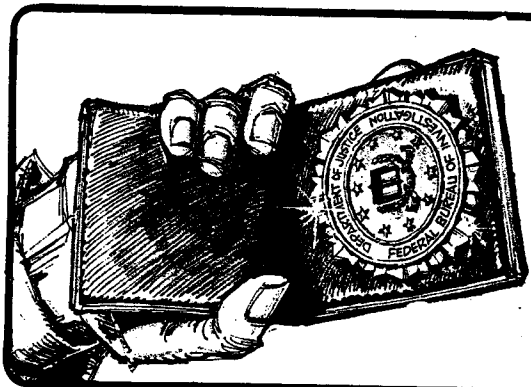
In 1968, as the New Mobilization Committee and other anti-war forces were planning to demonstrate at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, the FBI sought to neutralize one of the Mobe's key figures, Dr. Sidney Peck. In Dr. Peck's case, the FBI went to the Internal Revenue Service and asked them to perform an audit on his tax return. IRS, of course, found nothing out of order, but it did create a major drain on the time that Dr. Peck could devote to his work on behalf of the Mobe.

Members of the Socialist Workers Party often found that this tactic was used against them, particularly Party members who happened to work as teachers. Dr. Morris Stursky, an untenured faculty member at Arizona State University, and Maude Wilkerson, a school teacher in Washington, D.C., both lost their jobs as a result of the FBI contacting the state or local educational authorities.

It was the tactic of using local authorities to do the dirty work the FBI was unable to do itself, that led to raids on the homes and offices of the Black Panthers, including the Dec. 4, 1969 raid that resulted in the shootings of Mark Clark and Fred Hampton.

All the information that the FBI could collect from its informants, and all the government and private sector agencies and institutions that they could use were called into action for COINTELPRO. Members of the SWP and CP-USA lost jobs because of their political affiliation, a right guaranteed under the First Amendment. Black activists and New Left leaders were slurled in leaflets and in the media without justification or attribution to the FBI. Families and friendships were split as the FBI sought to manipulate people through the most powerful weapon—manipulation, or more correctly in this case, lies, rumors, and innuendoes. If the FBI judged that a person was of importance to a group on the FBI's laundry list of targets, it would then mount a COINTELPRO action against him or her.

FBI agents even interfered with the judicial and political



FBI: Crooks with Badges

Although not officially listed as counter-intelligence activities, the FBI has engaged in criminal actions in the name of national security. In their operations against the Socialist Workers Party, the FBI engaged in 92 burglaries of SWP New York offices in the period of 1960 - 1966, or an average of one burglary every six and a half weeks.

Other criminal actions included mail theft and mail opening and the use of electronic surveillance without court authorization (16 separate bugs and wiretaps against Dr. Martin Luther King alone).

So far, no Bureau official or Special Agent has been indicted for the activities.

process when they so desired, FBI agents visited candidates and red-baited campaign workers who did not conform to the FBI's concept of an acceptable American. Judges and grand jury foremen were shown confidential reports on an "off the record" basis in hopes of affecting their decisions in legal matters. No institution, the press, the electoral process and the legal system were immune from manipulation by the FBI. John Edgar Hoover declared himself the political boss of America, and the counterintelligence program was his vehicle for silence.

ing the thoughts and individuals that he opposed. COINTELPRO brings to mind the famous statement by an American infantry officer in Vietnam... "We had to destroy the village in order to save it."

The FBI has admitted that its informants were told to deliberately perform acts of disruption, but it denies that such activity is synonymous with the use of agent provocateurs.

Phony Organizations

Another counterintelligence tactic was the use of "non-alts", or political organizations manufactured by the FBI to serve as front groups within both right and left wing circles. Attorney General Saxe claimed that this tactic was used only against Ku Klux Klan type organizations, but public statements and news reports contradict his claim.

At least one Ku Klux Klan "klavern" was established by the Bureau and composed entirely of FBI informants. This klavern was supposed to attract both unorganized and potential KKK adherents as well as members of other Klaverns who were dissatisfied with other Klan groups. It was hoped that the use of national klaverns would eventually create a situation where a large number of United Klans of America members would leave and drain the strength of the group.

It is believed by many Bureau critics that as many as six phony "Maoist" groups were set up by the FBI in its COINTELPRO-New Left activities. Only two have been definitely identified, and the FBI refuses to comment on the possibility that others were created.

In New Orleans, FBI husband-wife team Jill and GI Schafer were paid \$10,000 per year for their services, which included the founding of the Red Star Collective. The Schafers used the Red Star Collective as a base for a wide range of activities, including a trip to China for Jill.

GI Schafer used his credentials to visit Paris and attend a meeting between anti-war activists and representatives of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam. He later went to Wounded Knee during the 71 day confrontation between Oglala Sioux and the U.S. government. He was asked to leave because Wounded Knee support people began to suspect him of being an agent.

The Red Star Cadre was another notional group established by the FBI in Tampa, Florida. Informant Joseph Burton was responsible for establishing the group after he had attempted to infiltrate the United Electrical Workers. Using FBI money, Burton opened a junk shop that became a center for Movement activity in the Tampa Bay area.

FBI Provoked Violence

Psychological warfare is generally considered to be a non-violent activity. Anthropologist Margaret Mead has defined psy-war as one of the "forms of conflict in which the killing of people is not sanctioned." While it is true that the COINTELPRO actions were not violent in their own, the results of FBI COINTELPRO actions were sometimes very violent, especially against Blacks.

FBI informant Gary Thomas Rowe was a participant in COINTELPRO activities against the Ku Klux Klan. On two separate occasions, he was told by his Bureau supervisors to participate in beatings of civil rights workers in Alabama. The Bureau justified the action by telling Rowe that it was necessary for him to build and maintain his cover within the Klan. Rowe once informed the FBI seven days in advance that the Klan would attack Blacks at a county fair. The FBI did not intervene to prevent the beatings from occurring. On a second occasion, Rowe gave three weeks notice that "Freedom Riders"

arriving in Birmingham would be greeted by local Klan members who had police assurances that they could beat the civil rights workers for 15 minutes before they would be stopped. Again, the FBI did nothing to intervene even though they were aware of potential civil rights violations and that local authorities were a part of the conspiracy.

Rowe's actions were not directly linked to any COINTELPRO request, but they are an indirect result of the program. Had Rowe not been participating in COINTELPRO actions, he would not have needed to maintain the deep cover that he did. It is hard to believe that other FBI informants involved with the Klan did not experience similar situations where the FBI told them to improve their credibility at the expense of civil rights workers and Blacks.

Psy-war As Magnum Justice

The FBI was fully cognizant of the potential for violence as a consequence of the counterintelligence program. In the case of the Black Panther Party (BPP), it appears that violence was the desired result of COINTELPRO actions. By provoking confrontations between the Panthers and either the police or other political groups, the Bureau was able to "neutralize" the Panthers without direct complicity — a standard intelligence technique known as the use of a "cut out" (third party) or "maintaining plausible denial."

Even the Senate Select Committee, in their special COINTELPRO report, had to admit that such activities "involved risk of serious bodily injury or death to the targets." It is not just risk, it is fact, that members of the Black Panther Party found violence was integral to COINTELPRO actions against them; psy-war took on the characteristic of Magnum Justice towards the Black Panther Party.

Manipulating police and rival political factions like markers on a Monopoly gameboard, the FBI used their psychological warfare techniques to "neutralize" the Black Panthers in the most brutal sense of the word. Documentation and evidence to the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence and as presented in a civil suit over the death of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark show that the Bureau's approach to the Panthers was one of being at war. Even the Senate Select Committee investigators felt that the tone of COINTELPRO memos relating to Blacks and the New Left were worthy of comment. Minority counsel Curtis Smothers told the senators:

"The rhetoric of the Bureau — as these programs advanced from the initial program relating to the Communist Party, USA to the ultimate programs of Black Nationalist and New Left — became tougher and tougher, and what began as efforts to disrupt — the word used for the Communist Party, and in the case of the Klan, some indication that they genuinely were looking after violence and not simply to destroy the group — became in the case of the Black Nationalist and New Left... the most extreme rhetoric of a plan to destroy political protest groups that you could imagine..."

Provoking violence through psy-war and "cut-outs" can be documented in three separate operations around the Black Panther Party. One was the attempt by the Bureau to intensify the factional differences between the Panthers and the United States (US). The second was the attempt to pit the Blackstone Rangers, a Chicago street gang, against the Panthers; the third was called for an FBI-instigated raid on the Chicago Panther headquarters that led to the assassination of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark.

On November 25, 1968, a Sullivan/Hoover memo was sent to FBI field offices participating in the COINTELPRO-Black Panther Party program. It stated in part:

"For the information of recipient offices a serious struggle is taking place between the Black Panther Party (BPP) and the

US organization. The struggle has reached such proportions that it is taking on the aura of gang warfare with attendant threats of murder and reprisals.

"In order to fully capitalize upon BPP and US differences as well as to exploit all avenues of creating further dissension in the ranks of the BPP, recipient offices are instructed to submit hard-hitting counterintelligence measures aimed at crippling the BPP." (emphasis added)

To continue sharpening the rift between BPP and US, Sullivan ordered each participating field office to submit biweekly suggestion letters to the Bureau on the Panthers.

Soon, the streets of San Diego and Los Angeles were the site of new leaflets designed to heighten the tension between the two groups. Whether Sullivan welcomed this increase in tension and hoped that some Panther would die, is yet to be proved. What is known is that the Los Angeles Police Department liaison with the FBI, William Hynes, was directing the actions of an undercover informant named Louis Tackwood. Tackwood claimed, in his book, *The Glasshouse Tapes*, that he was acting as a liaison between the police and US, and that the LAPD armed the United Slaves.

At the time of the FBI memos about aggravating tension between the two Black groups, the Black Student Union at UCLA was preparing for the election of a new president. Ron Karanga, head of US, was supporting one of his loyalists, Black Panthers Bunchy Carter and John Huggins were advocating a delay in the election until other candidates could be found. The Carter-Huggins position was gaining within the Union when a meeting was called for January 17, 1969.

At the meeting the US position suffered a setback. As the students began to leave the dining room in Campbell Hall, members of US pulled out guns and shot the two young Panthers.

While it cannot be proved that any law enforcement officer actually ordered the killing, the fact remains that the FBI knew they were fueling a fire when they increased tension between US and the Panthers through their subtle methods of psy-war. The FBI realized part of its goals with the death of Carter and Huggins: Two potential leaders of the Panthers were "neutralized" before they reached their goals, and the work of the Panthers was set back by their loss.

As Paul Jacobs pointed out recently in the *Los Angeles Times*, "morally the FBI must share the responsibility for his (Carter's) death, for the bureau now admits that it fomented discussion and fierce fighting between US and the Black Panthers."

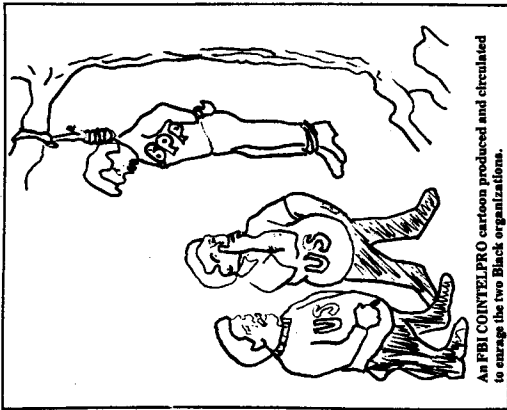
The aggravation of tension between the Panthers and US did not stop when Carter and Huggins were murdered. Eight months and one day after their death, the San Diego Field Office sent a memo to Washington that stated:

"Shooting, beatings, and a high degree of unrest continues to prevail in the ghetto area of southeast San Diego. Although no specific counterintelligence action can be credited with contributing to this overall situation, it is felt that a substantial amount of this unrest is directly attributable to this program."

Anti-Panther Program "Revised"

After San Diego Panther Clifford Bell was shot to death, the San Diego Field Office told Washington that it was considering rescuing its Black program and suggested "a new continuation (BPP) considered, the fact that it might assist in the continuance of the rift between the Panthers and US." Sullivan and Hoover approved the idea. The FBI had derogatory wall posters printed and plastered up around the ghetto.

The same tactic, pitting Black against Black, was attempted by the FBI in Chicago. When Fred Hampton and the Chicago Panthers began to talk with street gangs about common goals



An FBI COINTELPRO cartoon produced and circulated to enrage the two Black organizations.

and work, the FBI moved swiftly to prevent one of Hoover's greatest fears, the coalition of militant Black organizations. To keep distance between the two groups, the Chicago Field Office suggested that tensions between the Panthers and the Blackstone Rangers be further aggravated through a bit of black propaganda. On January 30, 1969, Sullivan authorized the Chicago office to send the following anonymous letter to Ranger leader Left Foot:

"I've spent some time with some Panther friends on the west side lately and I know what's been going on. The brothers that run the Panthers blame you for blocking their thing and their's supposed to be out for you. I'm not a Panther, or a Blackman, just Black. From what these Panthers are out for, I understand they're not black people. I think you ought to know what they're up to, I know what I'd do if I was you. You might hear from me again."

A Black brother you don't know noted that for the Rangers, "violent type activity shooting and the like, are second nature." The Chicago office recommended against using the tactic in reverse (a fake Ranger letter to the Panthers) because the Panthers were not considered to be as violent as the Rangers. The intent of this memo is clear: if the letter went to the Rangers, people may be shot; if it went to the Panthers, the desired results may not have been realized. In any event, the tactic failed to get Fred Hampton killed, so another technique was used to neutralize the Panthers in Chicago.

The FBI managed to place an informant within the Panther organization named William O'Neal. O'Neal worked his way through the organization and was finally assigned the job of bodyguard to Hampton, who was the Illinois State Chairman. O'Neal's activities were monitored and directed by his case

officer, FBI Special Agent Roy Mitchell, the COINTELPRO coordinator for the Chicago office.

Between March and December, 1969, police conducted 16 raids against Panther offices and apartments in over ten cities. Three of those raids occurred in Chicago, including the one that led to the deaths of Hampton and Clark. The chronology of events leading to that final raid is complex, but several major events stand out:

June 4, 1969: FBI Special Agent in Charge of the Chicago Field Office, Martin Johnson, leads a raid on the Chicago Panther Office. Before entering the offices, the FBI announced their intention and meets no resistance. Money and lists of contributors are seized, eight Panthers arrested. All charges are later dropped.

July 16, 1969: Chicago Police and two Panthers are involved in a shoot-out. One Panther is killed, the second arrested. Charges are later dropped.

July 31, 1969: A second police-Panther shoot-out. Five policemen wounded, three Panthers arrested. All charges later dropped.

October 16, 1969: A second raid on the Panther headquarters leads to the arrest of six Panthers for attempted murder. All charges were later dropped.

November 13, 1969: Another shoot-out between the police and the Panthers leaves two policemen and one Panther dead. The dead Panther, Spurgeon Jake Winters, is alleged to have fired the first shot.

On November 21, 1969, the FBI approached the Chicago police and suggested another raid on the Panther headquarters. Informant O'Neal told his case officer that there was a stockpile of weapons in the apartment-headquarters at 2337 West Monroe St., and although the information indicated a raid for November 25th, on November 23rd the raid was cancelled when O'Neal reported that the weapons had been removed because the Panthers had heard of the impending raid.

On December 1, the FBI contacted the Special Prosecutions Office of the Illinois State Attorney and informed them that the weapons had been returned. On December 2, a raid was planned for the evening of the 3rd, to be by State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan. Sgt. Daniel G. Smith of the Chicago Police Department was in charge of the 14 officers assigned to the raid.

Groth and Hanrahan decided to raid the house at 8:00 p.m. on December 3. When they learned that the apartment would be empty, they changed their time to 4:45 a.m. on December 4. Had the raid occurred during the Panther absence, the illegal weapons the police obtained were inside the apartment could have been seized without confrontation.

In planning for the attack, Groth and Hanrahan armed their men with a Thompson sub-machine gun, an automatic carbine, five shotguns, 38 specials and 357 magnums. No provisions were made for outside lighting, tear-gas, or even prior surveillance of the building.

At the appointed hour, they struck; 98 shots were fired, only one from a Panther weapon. As ballistics would later show, it was impossible for the first shot to have been fired by Mark Clark. During the course of the firing, the bullets fired into Hampton's bed shook the mattress as Deborah Johnson tried to cover Hampton's body. Hampton never had a chance that evening; an independent autopsy later revealed a large quantity of barbiturates in his stomach. Hampton was not a drug user.

Currently, the families of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark and the survivors of the December 4th raid are suing the Federal, Illinois State, and Chicago authorities in a \$47 million "wrongful death" suit. A massive amount of information has

been turned over to the plaintiffs, most of which remains under a court-ordered seal. Some of the information that has come out in court has been very damaging, especially an FBI map of the Panther apartment with Hampton's bed marked with an X.

As with Bunchy Carter and John Huggins, the FBI's COINTELPRO must shoulder the blame for the death of Clark and Hampton. The raid was not an accident; the targeting of being Hampton was deliberate because he had the potential for being something Hoover greatly feared, a Black "messiah." Hampton was a "danger" because he had begun to forge alliances between the Panthers and poor Appalachian White and Puerto Ricans. Such dangers had to be countered by the Bureau, and COINTELPRO provided the most effective vehicle for doing so. As former Attorney General Shaker pointed out, the COINTELPRO tactic of advising local police of intelligence in hopes of fomenting an arrest was a common and perfectly legal tactic, notwithstanding an effective "neutralization" tactic.

Current Counterintelligence

On April 28, 1971, just six weeks after the Media break-in, J. Edgar Hoover ordered the FBI to terminate COINTELPRO for security reasons. In a carefully worded order to the field offices, Hoover made it clear that the FBI was not abandoning the use of psychological warfare tactics; all that was affected by the order was the reporting and supervision system established by Sullivan. In that order, Hoover instructed the agents that:

"In exceptional instances where it is considered counter-intelligence is warranted, recommendations should be submitted to the Bureau under the individual name caption to which it pertains. These recommendations will be considered on an individual basis."

Under these new guidelines, a Special Agent who desired to disrupt the activities of, for example, Workers' Strike for Peace would submit his ideas to Sullivan under the regular routing system for all reports on Workers' Strike. By changing the reporting system, the FBI was told to state truthfully the Counterintelligence Programs it was established and even fill in the appropriate means to support their claims and still have the option of using the techniques and tactics when the so-called "exceptional" instances occurred.

There have yet to be any exposures of continued use of counterintelligence techniques other than a few statements by Joseph B. Brown, who claims he was involved with COINTELPRO type disruptions right up to the time he quit the FBI in 1974.

Los Angeles Times reporter Narda Zaccino reported on Sept. 22, 1975, that an FBI official had admitted to her that counterintelligence activities were continuing, but the official refused to divulge the names applied to counterintelligence activities.

Investigators for the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence had slightly more luck than Zaccino. In the course of their work, they were able to identify the title applied to current counterintelligence efforts — *intensive investigations*. If they discovered more than a name, they did not reveal it during the course of public hearings, other than official explanations for the need to continue such work.

The shortcomings of Congressional oversight over the FBI became obvious when FBI Director Clarence Kelley appeared before the Senate Appropriations Committee last winter. During his appearance to ask for continued FBI funding, Kelley told the Senators that a large number of Soviet bloc intelligence officers were operating within the United States. Kelley asked the Committee to approve a budget that contained authorization for \$4,350,000 for counterintelligence activities. Under that authorization, the FBI would increase its counterintelligence staff by 250 people.

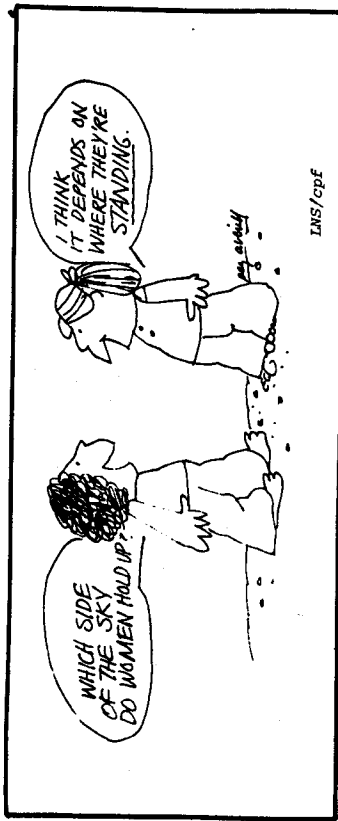
Kelley did not volunteer any information about "intensive investigations" or any other aspect of domestic counterintelligence. Not one Senator had the courage to confront Kelley on this, or to probe him with questions on how the over \$4.3 million would be spent. The Appropriations Committee kept Mr. Kelley before them for the shortest possible time and said nothing to challenge his statements, just as they did with Hoover when he was Director.

When the first COINTELPRO was established, the threat of domestic communism was used to justify the program. Today, the government is touting a new enemy, a new reason for repression, just as they used the Red Scare of the 1950's. That new threat, of course, is terrorism.

There are many other questions that the American people must face. We would be a naive people if we really believed that the worst of these abuses of power have concluded. Call it payback or COINTELPRO, the fact remains that the FBI's war against those labeled political enemies, continues today. Judging from the recent events on the Pine Ridge Reservation, the viciousness that the FBI once displayed against the Panthers has now been re-focused on the American Indian Movement. Who's next after AIM?

See Elaine Brown's commentary on the Senate Committee's reports on COINTELPRO's goal to destroy the Black Panther Party (page 3).





INS/cpf

Women's Liberation—A Subversive Act?

For the first time, there is documentation that the FBI has watched both liberal and radical women's groups since the beginnings of the women's liberation movement in 1969. According to the report of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, J. Edgar Hoover saw a threat of subversion in women demonstrating and organizing around their sexual oppression and struggles for equality.

The FBI began its file labelled, "Women's Liberation Movement," in early 1969 at the request of the New York City FBI office. At that time, according to a memo from the New York office to then Director J. Edgar Hoover, the Women's Liberation Movement was "not an organization as such but rather a cause and philosophy." A "reliable" informant advised that there are no formal headquarters or officers on a local or national basis, and that necessary financial needs were met by the individuals within the separate groups. The memo stated that the philosophy of the Women's Liberation Movement was complete equality in all facets of the socio-political and economic life of all women.

Although it is believed there was no nationwide women's organization, the FBI required its field offices across the country to spy on women. The FBI justified its operations by describing the groups as exhibiting "an affiliation with and/or sympathy for several organizations of investigative interest to this Bureau, namely the Students for a Democratic Society, Black Panther Party, The Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, Veteransons Brigade, and the Socialist Workers Party." According to the sextet analysis of FBI Assistant Director James Adams, there were New Left groups "that were believed to be infiltrating and attempting to exert control over" the women's liberation movement.

"What you have here is the set up of our investigative activity. We had New York, which was the office of origin of the investigation. You have other offices that were checking in on what was going on there. In addition, in New York, to the New York office, by the fact that interviewees with the Women's Liberation Movement had equal rights for women in other areas, an advocacy certainty of militancy and violence in other areas."

The "militancy and violence" in the movement of which Adams speaks is painstakingly chronicled in some 30 pages of

informers' reports—minus names, and presumably "security information"—all from the year 1969.

The FBI divided the feminist movement into two groups, radicals and liberals. From the New York memo:

The liberal group preaches the necessity of doing away with male chauvinism and the complete equality of women, but they feel that this should be done within the framework of existing institutions. The basic difference between them and the radical group is that the radicals state that male chauvinism is a direct result of "the establishment" and existing institutions and that these must be torn down before women will have their equality. (Informants) stated that in the New York area the Women's International Terrorist Conspiracy From Hell (WITCHES) is a radical group active for Women's Liberation. Another group which is an offshoot of the WITCHES in the New York area is the Red Stockings and they are considered to have split off from the WITCHES because of a more radical approach to the problem. Another group believed to be forming in the NY area is the "Molly Maguires."

The informant in the memo also pointed out that few of the women "have had political backgrounds."

An informant's account of the WITCH protest of a New York Bridal Show appears in an FBI report dated 7/2/69, with generous quotes from WTN Magazine (2/15/69). The following report went to three military intelligence units as well as the FBI headquarters under the heading: "Women's Liberation Movement, Information Concerning—MISC."

"Here comes the slaves, off to their graves," the WITCHES sang, to the tune of the traditional wedding march. Then the picketers—both men and women—stood in a circle and pledged themselves to each other, but without the traditional promise to obey.

Audience keeps calm.

A few minutes later, several WITCHES who manage to sneak past the guards let loose 100 white mice in the Fell Forum before the bridal show began. But the girls in the audience, instead of screaming and panicking seemed sorry for the mice and tried to gather them up so they wouldn't be stepped on.

(Name deleted), a former child actress who helped organize the demonstration and who took part in the picketing of the

Miss America Pageant last September in Atlantic City, said the protest was aimed at "the commercialism of the Bridal Fair and the institution of marriage as it exists in this culture to dehumanize both parties—but especially, to oppress women." (Name deleted) on (date deleted) 1969, furnished information to the effect that (name deleted) was in the forefront of the principal organizers of WITCHES and was very instrumental in its success.

Informants were not just limited to "radical" women's groups. The Senate report documents investigations of the Baltimore Women's Liberation Movement, which the FBI described as a "group therapy session." The memo continued in its description:

Along with this, they (the women) wanted a purpose and that was to free women from the hum-drum existence of being only a wife and mother. They wanted equal opportunities that men have in work and in society. They wanted their husbands to share in the housework and in rearing their children. They also wanted to go out and work in whatever kind of jobs they wanted and not be discriminated against as women. (Included in the file is a leaflet describing a publication of the Baltimore women, "Women: A Journal of Liberation.")

An FBI analysis of the group, which was sent to FBI headquarters, and again, to three military agencies concluded that the Baltimore women had nothing to do with violence, subversion, or extremism, but still, "We will continue to follow and report the activities of the Women's Liberation Movement. In a news release the staff of "Women" charge the FBI with gross violation of their rights: "Our phones have been tapped, our mail has been opened, we've been followed, our houses have been watched, and our groups have been infiltrated."

Although COINTELPRO nominally terminated in 1971, the documents do not reveal how surveillance of the Women's Liberation Movement ended, and there is every indication that the spying continues under a different name to keep a running list of names of women in leadership. An exchange between Senator Frank Church and James Adams at the Senate Select Committee hearings reinforces the contention that women would remain a target of the intelligence community:

Church: Apparently the Women's Liberation Movement is no longer under suspicion by the FBI and the case has been closed. What happens when the case is closed? Are those women's names still left in the files? Are they forevermore contained?

Adams: Yes.

Church: In the System?

Adams: Yes.

In earlier testimony, Adams explained why the case was closed: "... I don't think anyone is going to dominate or control (the Women's Liberation Movement). That is a very independent group."

The Baltimore Women's Liberation Movement was one of many women's groups under surveillance across the country, including an inactive Women's Liberation Movement (WLM) group... indicated as a campus organization at University of Missouri at Kansas City (UMKC); however, no campus or other significant activities were reported by sources from 4/20/70 to October, 1970. No WLM group identified elsewhere or on college campuses at Columbia, Missouri, and Lawrence, Kansas.

The women from Baltimore conclude:

We see this as part of the general pattern of harassment pursued by government law enforcement agencies to intimidate women's groups throughout the United States. We've every reason to believe this surveillance is continuing against organized movements for social change all over the country.

In fact, the Senate report exposes the use of women, as tools of the government to spy not only on women but other social change organizations. Mary Jo Cook is a typical paid multi-purpose informant. While in the employ of the FBI to collect information on the Vietnam Veterans Against the War and its Attica Defense Committee, Mary Jo helped organize a conference and rally for international Women's Day; she participated in consciousness-raising groups with VVAW women; she took two courses at a Women's Studies School; she was the telephone contact for the Mildred Prim Defense Committee and of the telephone contacts for Sisters of Sappho, a local lesbian organization. According to her testimony before the Senate Select Committee, over a 1½ year period she was able to turn the FBI's attention on as many as 1,000 people connected with the VVAW/WSO alone:

I was to be, you know—they used words like, "Be a voice of reason, be a big sister, be sort of a guiding force in the organization and keep things calm, cool, and collected." That sounded like a legitimate thing to do, so I agreed to work for the FBI...

I was to go to meetings, write up reports, or phone in reports on what happened, who was there, in some way to try to totally identify the background of every person there, what their relationships were, who they were living with, who they were sleeping with, who they were having sex with, who they were sleeping with, who they were having sex with, who they were sleeping with, who they were having sex with, who they were sleeping with...

In a statement to the Senate Committee, Mary Jo makes a righteous apology for her involvement in the "big sister" program:

In my family, being a sister is a serious and loving commitment to other human beings. I make this commitment to VVAW/WSO because the FBI had no intentions of honoring it. The more I understood and defined VVAW/WSO as a process, the more I became aware that the FBI's response to this process was inimical. I became confused and then alarmed that real involvement in the democratic process was not regarded as a positive thing. I resigned from the FBI in November 1974, certain that VVAW/WSO was a legitimate and valid organization. This resignation was a matter of moral principles and personal duty.

Those who knew Mary Jo question whether she was, in fact, so naive and so glibly submissive. They agree with her observation: "A 1984 tenate Big Brother is a monstrous violation of my identity as a sister."

Battle Hymn of Senate Bill One

Mine eyes have seen the horror of the coming of a bill. It would trample every freedom, it's against the people's will. It would jail all the workers who are struggling to be free. We won't let S-1 through!

S-1 would jail the Indians, it would jail the poor and blacks, it would execute our heroes, it would put them to the axe, it would keep us all from talking of the truth that makes us free. We won't let S-1 through!

Chorus:

We will stop this fascist monster. The ghost of Nixon will not rule us. We will stop it on the Hill, and we will stop it in the streets. We won't let S-1 through!

Premiered at the National Lawyers Guild Convention, Houston, Texas, February 15, 1976. According to national and international copyright regulations, songs may be used only for the total defeat of Senate Bill One. All other uses are strictly prohibited. Recording rights are under the control of the Midwest Regional Tradeback Choir. STOP S-1!

FACFI:

U.S. Pushes National ID Card

A national identification card, as well as 53 other "proposed solutions" to the problems of false identification, illegal immigration, drug smuggling, fugitives, welfare abuse and check fraud are being studied by the Federal Advisory Committee on False Identification (FACFI). The national ID Card proposal lost this year's round mainly because FACFI couldn't find the state or federal authority to do it yet, the "problem" wasn't great enough, and admittedly "public acceptance would be a massive educational job."

A voluntary authority of about 80 men, FACFI is politically homogeneous; controversies rage over practical issues such as cost effectiveness and public tolerance; but there is no dispute over civil liberty or constitutional violations. FACFI's chairman is David Michow, a trial lawyer from the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice; its secretary is Emil Schroeder, a high-ranking FBI official. Membership includes representatives from most of the likely government agencies, such as the DEA, Immigration and Naturalization Service, the FBI, the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA), as well as a couple of unidentified individuals representing the CIA. (See FACFI List)

Representing private interests are the Burns International Investigative Bureau, American Express Co., Sears Roebuck & Co., and some public spirited groups such as the National Sheriffs' Association, the International Association of Police Chiefs, and Interpol, the international private police force operating out of the U.S. Treasury Department.

FACFI has met more than a dozen times in the past year to pour over bulging packets of proposals. Comments, arguments and questions are presented for each proposal before a final vote. Some proposals are generally acceptable, others generally rejected (these include all proposals to "take no action"), and still others are controversial. The National ID Card proposal fell into this last category. The proposal went something like this:

"This solution proposes that we use all of the technology we currently possess to make one document, that is a foolproof verification of identity and only that. The document would contain only information which could be used to verify the personal identity of the bearer. Furthermore, no personally identifiable information would be maintained in any files, kept for the purpose of renewing or updating the cards, or federal government or by some independent agency. On an interesting suggestion is that the U.S. Postal Service, with its universally available offices, relative independence from law enforcement, communications resources, and strict regulation under Federal law, act as the issuing agency for the cards, or federal government.

The major reaction to the problem in such a scheme would appear to be the verification of identity of an applicant for such a secure document. It is hoped that the standards for source documents for the National ID card, be the same as for a U.S. passport (which would require renewal after a maximum of five years). The fees charged for original application and renewal should cover the costs involved.

"Application for such a card is seen as purely voluntary; most people would probably get the card as an aid to cashing checks. An insurance program could be set up to indemnify fraud losses resulting when ID card was used and properly recorded on the check or other instrument; this would provide a positive incentive to use the card, rather than a less secure document, as a primary identifier. Further incentive to obtain the card would be set up if the Federal government would accept only the card for verification of identity in applying for privileges, benefits or government employment." (voluntary?)

"Actions required: Draft the appropriate Federal or Model State Legislation." (emphasis added throughout)

The national ID Card procedure is common to many police states, most notably, the Republic of South Africa, where black citizens must obey "pass laws," by showing sophisticated identity cards to police wherever they go. The card must be carried at all times; it is imprinted with the bearer's personal background data and photograph. Riots and demonstrations protesting these laws have continued over the years in South Africa. In South Vietnam, under the Thieu regime, ID cards were useful under the CIA's assassination operation, the "Phoenix Program."

All the proposals that FACFI did recommend were steps in the direction of national ID cards. They have also recommended they be re-chartered for another year to guarantee that the path for national ID cards persists.

The Alien ID Card will be complete with photographs, fingerprints and "encrypted personal information" which could technically carry the bearer's entire criminal history, family background, political sentiments, as well as identity data. In about a year, the U.S. Department of Agriculture will begin using the same ID cards for food stamp users. The proposal for uniform ID standards for welfare users suggests "that official identity documents be required for all family members at the time of welfare applications."

State driver's licenses, acknowledged to be today's most significant ID, would now include a photograph and would be cross-indexed to all states; individuals would no longer be able to apply for more than one license.

FACFI members intent on locking up false identity offenders were much in favor of delaying the release of an individual on bail or parole, long enough to enable the authorities to determine whether or not the arrested person is using a false ID, or a fugitive. This proposal, of course, is potentially unconstitutional.

The proposal that got the most laughs was one to use television and radio to assist in apprehension of fugitives. It involved getting the police together with TV producers (an already familiar pair that has coordinated over 35 cop shows for American viewers) to prepare "guest shots" of real cops talking about crime prevention and describing fugitives. Some members commented that, "this has already been tried on a program called 'Your FBI' and failed. Others thought it would be dangerous to encourage citizens to become amateur detectives.

Other favorable proposals were: a national clearinghouse for false ID information; closing access to vital statistics records; stricter ID standards for social security applicants; and an international conference on false identification to begin international standardization of identity!

Their object is clearly not to tackle major crimes—certainly not organized crime or white-collar crime—but to attack poor people, undocumented workers, welfare recipients, social security beneficiaries and food stamp users. Perhaps the forces of "law and order" represented in FACFI hope that they can play on fear to gain public acceptance of one of the greatest tools of government oppression—a national ID card.

Check the *Federal Register* for the next FACFI meeting. The public is invited.

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TIP

Terrorist Information Project

Backlash to Indian Sovereignty

A white backlash against Indian claims to sovereignty has been organized into a 12-state coalition to promote the interests of wealthy agribusinessmen, ranchers and commercial fishermen living on or near Indian reservations in the west and mid-west. Calling itself the Interstate Congress on Civil Rights and Responsibilities, the group of right-wingers—all closely linked with John Birch, Klan and Posse Comitatus forces in their states—gathered in Salt Lake City, Utah in February under the slogan: "Constitutional rights of all Americans must supercede treaty rights of some Americans."

"We're organizing whatever is necessary to preserve our rights as citizens living close to reservations," said Mayor Hollis Hullinger of Roosevelt, Utah, in 1973 and the direct descendants of the battle with the Ute tribe over a new tribal law and order code covering non-Indians living within the reservation's borders.

The Interstate Congress, according to its statement of purpose, seeks to apply "all state and local laws within all reservations and to all tribes and tribal members" in order "to insure that all citizens of this country shall achieve equal rights and bear equal responsibilities under the law." Disclaiming any but egalitarian concerns, one Congress member insisted: "We're just interested in preventing discrimination."

"We will resist these foreign and alien governments taking jurisdiction over non-Indians who have no voice," said Floyd Ingraham, city attorney for the Flathead reservation community of Ronan, Montana and a member of Montana's Against Discrimination (MAD). "It's not hard to see what mischief can be worked by tribal councils over people who have no representation."

The Congress contends they "are just trying to prevent tribal governments from extending their jurisdiction over

One): "That Indian Reservations shall not be enlarged by boundary changes, by grants, by the power of eminent domain, or by any other means."

"That the jurisdiction of tribal governments over non-members of the tribe, who have no vote or voice in tribal government, should be prohibited. That members of non-tribal governments unless they are subject to the laws and responsibilities of that non-tribal government."

"That grants of public funds to any group of people based upon their race and denial of public funds to other groups because of their race must be prohibited."

"The purpose of the organization is to destroy Indian reservations," according to a South Dakota Indian Legal Services attorney, who has fought the local Civil Liberties for South Dakotans, Inc. in two different jurisdictional cases. "They just feel that Indian reservations are no good, no help to anyone, not even the Indians."

While reservations are not officially opposed, Congress' national chairman Jack Freeman of Faith, S.D., shrewdly upholds the course of termination, whereby a tribe loses its federal treaty status, and all rights to the land, resources, and to self-government are bought off for a pittance.

"We believe our congressmen should think in terms of termination — and a lot of Indians are beginning to believe this because it will be both of economic and social benefit — not immediately but maybe 10 or 15 years in the future. The states represented in the coalition have assembled a 'substantial legal

FACFI continued from p. 35

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battery", according to Freeman and Indian leaders. Yet neither silent nor "plan to incorporate so that we can enter federal courts to seek redress on any grievances." More likely the legal assault will be toward destabilizing existing reservations and crippling emerging movements to restore previously disbanded tribes.

A Colorado attorney warned: "They're really organized up there in Washington; they're viciously trying to abrogate treaty rights."

The strength of the civil liberties offensive is yet to be seen. Their demand for "state jurisdiction" has definite backing from state officials like Utah Assistant Attorney General Wright

Volker, who attended the founding conference, and South Dakota Attorney General William Janklow, who more than once has tried illegally to move to restore "law and order" on the Pine Ridge reservation.

The federal government takes two steps back for every step forward in treaty negotiations with traditional

and its citizens have been trespassing in the Black Hills. For all the resources (gold, timber, rocks, minerals, water, etc.) stolen from 1804 till now the U.S. Government owes us half of the value of all these stolen resources."

Under the new tribal government of Al Trimble, the Lakota Treaty Council has been acknowledged as the traditional governing body on the Pine Ridge reservation, with sole jurisdiction on treaty questions. Their vanguard fight for recognition of the 1868 Sioux Treaty — waged amidst the terrorism of the U.S. government and its puppet Dick Wilson — directly challenges the fraudulent claims of the Interstate Congress for Civil Rights and Responsibilities.

The tag of "civil rights" is no cloud for the historical issue at hand: white man's greed for control of Indian lands. States represented in the Interstate Congress are: Utah, Montana, South Dakota, North Dakota, Nebraska, Nevada, Arizona, California, Idaho, Washington, Minnesota and Wyoming.

Questions abound from a wide political spectrum, demanding to know the facts.

Who are the National Caucus of Labor Committees?

A thorough analysis of the NCLC/US Labor Party has been prepared by the Terrorist Information Project (TIP) of the Fifth Estate, compiling years of study by NCLC-watchers in Europe and America.

For the NCLC/USLP pamphlet, write: TIP, PO Box 647, Ben Franklin Station, Washington, D.C. 20044. \$1.00

CIA
AROUND THE WORLD

ELP

“a CIA program to recruit Portuguese immigrants in Massachusetts was headed by the Chappaquiddick D.A.”

Mercenaries Prepare to Invade Portugal

Carl Michael
and Julie Brooks

The 10,000-man "Army for the Liberation of Portugal" (ELP), consisting of right-wing mercenaries from around the world, is prepared to invade Portugal from its base in southern Spain, if the future Portuguese government does not appease Western interests.

ELP is the military arm of General Antonio de Spínola's Democratic Movement for the Liberation of Portugal (MDLP). ELP's objective is "to liberate Portugal from Marxism through the use of political assassination, selective terrorism, sabotage, and psychological warfare."

The MDLP was formed after Spínola's attempt to remove the Armed Forces Movement from power in Portugal in September 28, 1974. On that day Spínola gave the cue for the neo-Salazarists' right-wing "coup" out of hiding. The rally was announced for the "next morning" to show its support for Spínola. In the case of time however, it became clear that the proponents of the return to Salazarism were using the rally as a cover to precipitate an armed push.

Information gathered by the security service of the armed forces indicated that they were being stockpiled in Lisbon, ready to be distributed to demonstrators, and that groups of agitators had been formed to exploit the rally and foment an atmosphere of chaos and terror, thus giving the president of the republic pretext for declaring a state of emergency and assuming total power. Despite this information, the army apparently made no move and Spínola's attempted coup failed.

The lack of support for Spínola that day, destroyed even larger plans for the fall of 1974. A meeting, to consolidate Spínola's power in Portugal and instigate a military coup in Angola at the same time, took place in Portugal only a week before the September rally in Lisbon. The United Party of Angola (UPA), the only white party in Angola, elements of the UNITA right-wing Portuguese army units in Angola and the famous professional mercenary, "Mad" Mike Hoare, met with

Spínola in Portugal to plan for a simultaneous Angolan coup. The plan, on the African end, fell through as well, when the Portuguese could not come up with the half million dollars for Michael Hoare. Hoare, leading mercenary in the Congo in the early 60s and at this time, was working out of South Africa.

ELP was first revealed in March 1975 when Col. Corvaço, then chief of staff of the military region of northern Portugal, gave a press conference to announce the arrest of 13 ELP members. At that press conference, Corvaço gave the code names "Castor" and "Morgan" as being two ELP leaders, and added that ELP possessed two pirate radio stations in Spain near the Portuguese border. At this time, no one had connected Spínola's MDLP to its military branch, ELP.

Clearly unhappy with Col. Corvaço's revelations and communist tendencies, ELP successfully ousted him later. He was replaced by a right-wing general, who took over law enforcement tasks in the north, ELP's stronghold in Portugal.

ELP was founded in September 1974, only a month after Spínola's defeat at a meeting in Paris. Present were Manuel Vinhas, Manuel Bulhosa, Martin Soares, and a certain Zolo, a Portuguese arms manufacturer.

Soares was a lawyer for such diverse clients as two American-Portuguese companies and the Movement for the Reconstruction of the Proletarian Party (MRPP). MRPP adopts labels such as "maoist" but has aroused suspicion among many journalists because of its heavily financed western-style public relations campaign and its consistent attacks on the Portuguese communists. When Soares died in a car accident last year, his life insurance policy paid out a large sum of money which went to MRPP.

Bulhosa is a friend of a secret agent-journalist from France, named Dominique De Roux. Bulhosa works with Sonap, a Portuguese company, and with the French-Portuguese Bank



Leaders of the right-wing Portuguese army (ELP) meeting in the Portuguese/Spanish border town of Badajoz, where ELP is believed to have a military base. In the Hotel Simanca cafe, from left to right: An unidentified man, "Morgan", Carl Michael (probably CIA), four more unidentified men, and to the far right is "Castor", or Hughes Carter Franklin (John J.S., "Pepper", Jay Sablosky), the American citizen and another probably CIA agent. Also in the picture, but not identified, are Samuel Lupi, the towcarder who owns the farm where ELP trains its soldiers, and Gregorio M. Pidal. Lupi's friend who also offers a large training ground/farm to ELP. The meeting took place in April 1975. (credit photo/Monifesto)

where Spínola stops during his visits to Lausanne in Switzerland. Bulhosa also lent financial help before April 25, 1974 to Mario Soares, head of the moderate Portuguese Socialist Party, which recently won the largest victory (35%) in the Portuguese elections.

Manuel Vinhas, the owner of the large Angola beer company Cucca, is known for his close ties with the FNLA, with Mobutu in Zaire, and with Spínola. Portuguese authorities issued a warrant for the arrest of Vinhas when he "visited" Spínola in Portugal just before September 28, 1974.

ELP is not limited to a collection of right-wing officers in a former colonial army. ELP recruits from a wide range of anti-communist sources which include Portuguese immigrants and Portuguese-Americans in the United States, Israel, Brazil, Cuba, Cuban refugees, white Angolan refugees, and former agents of Dictator Salazar's secret police force PIDE.

According to *Politique Hebdo*, a CIA program to recruit Portuguese immigrants went on in the Portuguese communities of Massachusetts, and particularly, New Bedford. The head of this program is said to be Atty. Edmund L. Dimis, who was born in the Azores, and who was the D.A. active in the Chappaquiddick incident involving Senator Edward Kennedy, who owns the only Portuguese-American radio station in the U.S., which heavily editorialized against the communist "totalitarianism" developing in Portugal.

When asked why he hadn't fulfilled certain promises made to those Portuguese-Americans recruited in New Bedford, Dimis (*Counter-Spy*) "I have no recollection of involvement at this level— I've never been involved with anybody involving politics in Portugal."

By the end of last summer, 40 some immigrants had been recruited, trained and sent to Portugal to execute "subversive actions." An earlier edition of *Politique Hebdo* magazine revealed that the campaign of the New Bedford *Portuguese Times* and the Newark *Leo Americano* against the escalation of communist totalitarianism in Portugal, was coordinated with an effort by Rep. Ronald Sarasin (R-Conn) to organize a demonstration in front of the White House and a letter campaign to demand that the U.S. publicly condemn the Portuguese regime.¹³ In Canada, the *Journal Portugais* engaged in a similar campaign.¹⁴

U.S. News and World Report (Nov. 10, 1975) reported that "thousands" of armed anti-communist white Angolans had returned to Portugal. Of the 80 some PIDE agents that escaped from a Portuguese prison, at least 45 crossed the Spanish border and joined ELP.¹⁵ Costa Dias and Santos E. Castro formed the Organization for the Promotion of Immigration, which has transported more than 150 "anti-communist volunteers" from Brazil to ELP bases in Spain.¹⁶ In Israel, the Mappam party's European representative, Ely Ben Gal, has been recruiting "commandos" to be sent to Portugal,¹⁷ and approximately 100 "anti-Castro" Cubans have also arrived in Portugal.¹⁸

MDLP/ELP Leadership

The leadership of ELP—MDLP is fairly well known. The 25 officers officially implicated in the military coup of March 11, 1975 and the 15 officers that fled with Spínola to Spain comprise most of the leadership. MDLP is directed by its

President, Spinoia, and a Directorate likely to consist of Costa Dias, Dias De Lima, Santos E. Castro, and Alpoim Calvao, head of the Directorate. Dias De Lima was the civilian head of Spinoia's staff before Sept. 28, 1974. Santos E. Castro, a former lieutenant colonel in the Portuguese army, was FNLA's chief of staff.¹⁰

Alpoim Calvao, former Frigate Commander and head of the Army police, declares himself to be "one of the three of the FNLA that direct MDLP," but denies any relation with ELP.¹¹ What is certain, is that ELP and MDLP together form one single right-wing terrorist organization, within which ELP is specifically the military branch.

“Seven people were killed in the intensified violence that has plagued the Portuguese Left since last summer.”

There have been numerous reports of ELP bombings in Portugal and the Azores.¹² On April 22, 1976, two Cubans were killed and four Portuguese citizens were seriously injured when a bomb exploded in the Cuban Embassy in Lisbon. That bombing was associated with other pre-election violence that has been directed at leftist political parties throughout Portugal. Before the legislative elections were held April 25, seven people were killed in the intensified violence that has plagued the Portuguese Left since last summer. The Left groups in Portugal immediately accused ELP-MDLP of planting the bomb.¹³

Recent information indicated that ELP troops are under the command of Canto Cabuco and his "technical assistant," Jean Schramme, a former Portuguese lieutenant, left Portugal after Sept. 28, 1974, passing through Angola and South Africa, before arriving in Spain.¹⁴ In Spain, he was joined by Schramme, a Belgian mercenary who has previously sold his services in the Congo, Katanga, Biafra, and Angola.¹⁵ Schramme was once found guilty by a Belgian court for killing one of his mercenary aides while commanding a unit of his mercenary force in the early sixties. Phillip Saint Germain wrote a book about Schramme — a rightist work. As of August 1975, Schramme was working for a publishing firm, with U.S. connections, in Madrid.¹⁶

Other important Portuguese officials related to MDLP-ELP are: Goncalves Rapazole, former Minister of Interior under Caetano; Galvao De Melo, former Air Force Chief of Staff and, at present, a deputy for the conservative Center Social Democrat Party (CDS) which was another big winner in the April elections, doubling their share of the vote from 7.6% last year to 16% this year and clearly winning an important role in the future government; Costa Campos, former paratrooper lieutenant colonel; Sanchez Osorio, former commander and also founder of the Christian Democratic Party; Alves Cardoso, former commando captain and Secret Police agent in Guinea; and Georges Mourais, former major.¹⁷

The strength of ELP-MDLP has fluctuated with the evolution of political events in Portugal and Angola. After March 11, 1975 ELP directed approximately 800 armed men.¹⁸ In the autumn of 1975 the estimate was just under 2,000. This past winter, ELP was able to field two battalions which fought with the FNLA and UNITA in the siege of Sa da Bandeira in Angola.¹⁹ No doubt, a number of these troops have returned

to Portugal or to the ELP-MDLP bases in Spain. A recent estimate put their strength at between 10,000 and 15,000 armed men.

The source of ELP's weapons is not yet entirely clear. There is one reliable source, however, who claims Portuguese fishing ships docked in San Diego, and other California ports, are loaded up with newly manufactured M-16s and plastic explosives. Fishermen there claimed the arms were "for our brothers in Angola." It is speculated that arms were obtained at the Marine Corps Recruiting Depot (MCRD) in San Diego in the same way that the right-wing Secret Army Organization (SAO) in that city, as well as right-wing groups across the Mexican border, obtained arms from sources at that depot.²⁰ The same source claims that organized crime is involved with the fishing ships.

ELP-MDLP bases are distributed according to their objectives. As one member said, "For the North, there's no problem. It's already ours. But Lisbon... Lisbon will be a martyred city. We have to do away with those communists who have sold Portugal to imperialism."²¹ Therefore, ELP-MDLP has concentrated most of its strength on the Spanish border toward the central and southern area of Portugal and on bases at Salvaterra del Mino, Verin, Aysamonte, Tuy, and Salamanca.

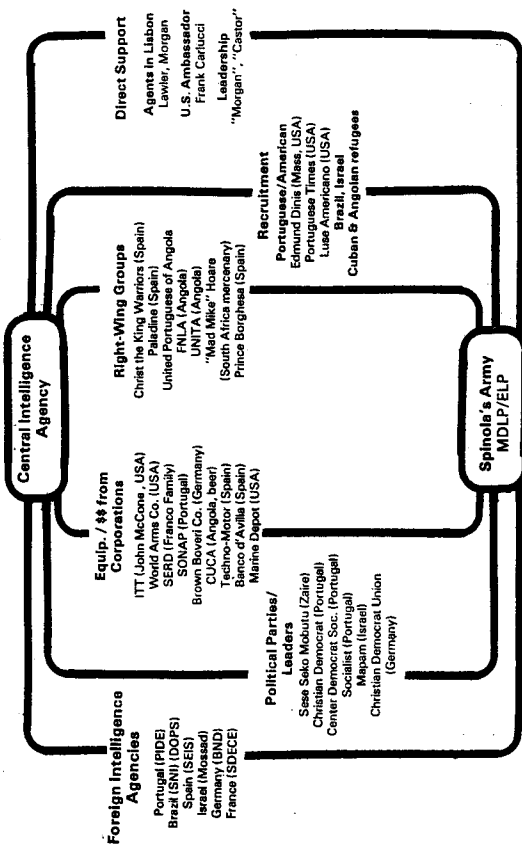
A training camp seems to have been established on the farm of Samuel Lupi, a famous Portuguese treader (unidentified in photo). He managed to rent his farm in Olivenca for twice the normal value of any Olivenca farm on the Portuguese border. Nearby, in Talavera le Real, Lupi's friend, Gregorio Moreno Fidal (unidentified in photo), owns a farm which has a common side with the military base where Spinoia landed after fleeing Portugal on March 11, 1975.²²

Corporations Support ELP

Of course, the activities of ELP-MDLP would be impossible without implicit support of the Spanish government and important commercial financing. Most of the civilians already mentioned are directors of different banks and companies in Europe or Africa. Many of these companies are related to, or are subsidiaries of, a financial empire controlled by Portugal's counterpart to Rockefeller, Antonio Champalimaud.²³ He is considered to be the "brain" behind the military coup of March 11, 1975.²⁴ Vice Admiral Rosa Coutinho considers Champalimaud to be the boss of Spinoia himself, and the person who would have benefitted most from a neo-colonialist solution to Portugal's African war.²⁵

Spanish involvement with ELP-MDLP reflects in many ways Spain's own troubles — a reactionary archaic government upheld by its uncontrollable right-wing extremists. Here we find old Nazis such as the Fascist International (Aginter) and Paladino, and modern Spanish businessmen. The ELP-MDLP link with the Spanish secret police is Garcia Rodriguez who works with the Special Information and Security Services (SEIS).

"Morgan," one of the ELP-MDLP leaders mentioned by Col. Corvacho in his press conference, is none other than Yves Guillon (alias Guerin Scryac), a former OAS officer, a former director of Aginter Press, and a former adjutant to Pierre Lagarriere who was the liaison agent between Caetano's FIDE and the French secret police, SDECE.²⁶ The other agent, "Castor", is Hugues Castor Franklin who travels with a Guatemalan passport, but is an American citizen named Jay S. Sablonsky, also known as Joe Vicente Pepper, or J.V. "Castor" is employed by the Madrid S.A., a company owned by Teco-Motor, along with Mariano S.A., a company owned by Mariano Sanchez Covisa, the head of "Christ the King



Warriors" in Spain. A fanatical Catholic right-wing group with connections to SEIS.²⁷

These two Covisa companies are tied financially to Banco d'Avilla, where such well-known fascists as Prince Borghese and former Nazis Otto Skorzeny, Hugo Van V�alencia held important interests. Skow is the head of the terrorist organization Paladino, which acted as intermediary between ELP-MDLP and the American company Worldarms, noted for its CIA connections in Phil Agee's CIA Diary, which assisted in the shipment of an important quantity of "Skorpion" pistol-machine-guns.²⁸ Other equipment for ELP-MDLP was

“ELP owns an airplane which has been used to drop phosphorus bombs over Portugal causing numerous forest fires.”

also bought through Sanchez Covisa's companies. The two radio stations, mentioned earlier, were bought through the Spanish Society for Radio Diffusion (SERD), which belongs to the family of Franco. ELP-MDLP also owns an airplane, an AT-6, number 985-F, which has been used to drop phosphorus bombs over Portugal, causing numerous forest fires to ruin that year's turpentine crop.²⁹

American Tactical Options

Spain obviously has immediate interest in seeing Portugal return to an authoritarian form of government. Though this cannot be said for all of Europe, it is nonetheless true for

America. For American security-managers, the sooner the Spinoia group is back in power, the better. Kissinger's three options in Portugal are:

- 1) *Desradicalization*: repeat the Chile policy used against Allende.
 - 2) *Isolation*: isolate Portugal, as the U.S. is doing now to Cuba.
 - 3) *Suggestions*: apply political pressure through normal diplomatic channels.
- Though many American analysts say Kissinger had adopted option two, Kissinger has been actively applying option one since he sent Frank Charles Carlucci III, to Lisbon in January 1975.
- Portugal, rather quickly, received the new American ambassador on January 20, 1975. Upon Carlucci's arrival one of the first questions asked by reporters was whether his embassy was in the hands of the CIA. He denied that it was. His predecessor, Stuart Nash Scott, removed after only a year in the post, had advocated aid to the army of fighting support for Portuguese Democracy. Carlucci said one of his major tasks would be to put this aid into concrete form.³⁰

On Nov. 27, 1974, Carlucci told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, considering his nomination as ambassador to Portugal, that the CIA was not intervening in Portuguese affairs. Carlucci's statement was the first, by a Ford administration official, unequivocally denying reports from Lisbon that a CIA covert operation, involving "100 agents", was under way in Portugal to counter Communist activity there. The statement was in response to allegations of CIA activity raised by Rep. Michael Harrington (D-Mass.), who had asked to testify before the Senate body at the last minute. Harrington read a statement that there had been "a major policy dispute" over Portugal in the administration, resulting in the dismissal

of Ambassador Stuart, Nash Scott, Harrington, included a New York Times article (Oct. 21, 1974) calling Brigadier General Carvalho as saying that the CIA was a grave problem for the Portuguese leadership and Associated Press story alleging there were "more than 100 CIA agents" active in Portugal.⁴

A close examination of Carlucci's team demonstrates the fact that Kissinger has Deshabilitation plans drawn up. Chief of Station for the CIA in Lisbon is John S. Morgan who served

66 ITT provided a right-wing commando unit with electronic listening devices.

In Brazil (1964-1969) and Uruguay (1970-1973). The CIA's second in command in Lisbon is James N. Lawler who specializes in rigging elections as he did in Chile (1962-1964) and Brazil (1964-1967).⁵

Option No. 1 was obviously activated in Brazil between 1963 and 1969 when Carlucci was Political Officer in Rio de Janeiro, directing Morgan and Lawler. At that time, Carlucci made many friends such as Carlos Lacerda, a Brazilian governor and instigator of the overthrow of Goulart, and Golberry Do Couto E Silva, the founder of the National Information Service (SNI) — Brazil's CIA.⁶ These friends continue to work directly with Carlucci. Over 80 agents of the SNI have arrived in Lisbon accompanied by Celso Telles, former director, in Rio, of the Department of Social and Public Order (DOOPS), Brazil's FBI.⁷

Lacerda, who officially employs Spinoia in his publishing house in Brazil, serves as a link between the French SDECE, the Spanish SEIS, and Spinoia.⁸ Lacerda has also been implicated in organizing the March 11, 1975 coup with the help of Georges Bidault, former OAS and ODESA-Spinoia liaison, as well as in the overthrow of Goulart in Brazil. With such friends, Carlucci can permit himself to say as he did in *Cambridge* 16: "I don't have any information on ELP and we don't aid them... I don't know anything about them."⁹

Last August, Carlucci made several visits to the U.S., base at Torrejon near Madrid to "consult with doctors." From what sickness was he suffering that he consulted with none other than Spinoia and Lacerda? Did Carlucci give Spinoia a list of friends and places to visit? After meeting with Sanchez Covisa and Sanchez Osorio in Madrid at the "Le Provençal" restaurant, Spinoia flew to Bonn to meet with Herr F.J. Strauss, head of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), and a representative of the Brown Boveri Company. From there Spinoia went to Paris to the Sheraton Hotel and met with members of ELP, Dias De Lima, Freitas Do Amaral (head of Portuguese CDS), and Manuel Allegre of the Portuguese Socialist Party.¹⁰ From there he traveled with Carlucci's old friend, Golberry Do Couto E Silva, to Switzerland to meet with John McCone (boss of ITT and former director of the CIA) in the offices of the Brown Boveri Company.¹¹

After the McCone-Spinoia meeting in August, ITT announced on September 4, 1975, it was cutting off all funds to its Portuguese subsidiaries because it "no longer had effective control of Portuguese operations." ITT protested bank worker committees and said Portugal's nationalized banks were "dragging their feet in providing credit."¹²

ITT spent \$3.5 million to cover salaries and operating expenses for its electronics factories which employed 7,000 workers. They continued to operate with internal finances, but

there were big layoffs at Standard Electric, the biggest electric company of all monopolies guaranteed Spinoia \$250 million in international monopolies guaranteed Spinoia \$250 million to finance MDLP. Among them were Joseph Aids, Hitler's former banker; Franz Joseph Strauss; Jorge Jardim, the man who owned the "half of Mozambique," and organized a neo-army army in Mozambique; Mariano Felici, an Italian arms merchant; and various Portuguese officers in exile.¹³

A former Portuguese military policeman, expelled from service after Nov. 25, 1975, reported that ITT provided a right-wing commando unit with electronic listening devices capable of monitoring all telecommunications from abroad as well as inside Portugal. The commando unit was the core of that established center-right authority, which won gains in the recent elections and for which western strategists have their fingers crossed. The source also said that the ITT equipment, earmarked for the commandos only, and possibly ITT technicians to install it, began arriving in Portugal in late August 1975.

On April 8, 1976, Spinoia was expelled from Switzerland for continuing his world-wide activities to gain support for MDLP. ELP, Swiss authorities had permitted him to stay so long as he ceased the campaign for support. After Spinoia publicly stated that he had been in Dusseldorf in April trying to buy arms for the MDLP-ELP attempt to seize power,¹⁴ the Swiss officials began an investigation and discovered that Spinoia was deeply tied to the MDLP-ELP plots. Spinoia has spent most of his time, since his second coup attempt failed in March of 1975, campaigning for more support for his attempted coups.

For now, the MDLP-ELP supporters in the CIA and in the big western corporations have chosen to exercise their interests through the electoral system in Portugal, but the MDLP-ELP is still financially sturdy, ideologically well-motivated, trained, and waiting. If the Portuguese and European right and American foreign policy makers are pleased with the coalition of moderate/conservative parties reestablishing itself as the new Portuguese government, MDLP-ELP will be on reserve. If, however, the developing regime backfires economically or politically, that confederation will clearly take action and MDLP-ELP will put its forces in gear.

Carl Michael is a Counterspy correspondent based in Paris, France.

Footnotes

1. *Le Monde*, March 25, 1975.
2. *The CIA and Revolution*, Portugal, International Documentation on the Contemporary Church, No. 1, 1975, Europe: Churches in their Environment, Via S. Maria dell'Anima 30,00186 Rome, Italy.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Reliable Source, U.S. Government.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Counterspy* will tell you more about De-Roux in coming issues. He has arrived in Portugal today before each rigging election in Portugal.
7. Banco Franco-Sociedade do Portugal, former Portuguese bank, Antonio Chagres, head of the bank set up a special fund in 1975 to help destabilize the already poor Portuguese economy. The large number of Portuguese emigrants in France were urged to put their funds in a special account that "would not go back to Portugal to aid the 'communist' government there." (Normally the emigrants send their money back to Portugal for their families to use and previously this resulted in the favorable

balance of payments of the country vis-a-vis France.)

In fact, funds were actually kept in France and arrangements were made with the CIA to allow Spinoia to leave Portugal with large amounts of their wealth, the CIA and the Portugal would be paid to them if they would give their assets to Portugal, set up to pay the families of the Paris emigrants. In this way no funds were transferred with money that could not have gone across the border under Portuguese law.

8. *Le Courrier du Zaire*, Sept. 3, 1976.
9. *Le Courrier du Zaire*, May 19, 1975.
10. *Le Courrier du Zaire*, Sept. 3, 1976.
11. *Politique Hebdo*, July 24, 1975.
12. *Counterspy* interview with Mr. Dins.
13. *Politique Hebdo*, April 17, 1975.
14. *Ibid.*

15. *Cambio* 16, Nov. 24, 1975.
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Le Monde*, March 13, 1975; See also *Temoignage Chretien*, March 20, 1975.
18. *Temoignage Chretien*, Aug. 21, 1975.
19. *Le Monde*, March 13, 1975; See also *Temoignage Chretien*, March 20, 1975.
20. *Ibid.*

21. *Intern. Newweek*, Nov. 17, 1975.
22. "The Azorean Liberation Front, an illegal separatist movement. Local socialists issued a statement condemning the rally. Shortly thereafter, a memo heavily damaged the party's offices in the Azorean capital, Ponta Delgada. The incident took place in Lisbon, was accompanied by a new burst of anti-Communist hysteria in the region had damaged homes, offices, and cars linked to persons on the left, but caused no injuries."
23. *The Guardian*, May 5, 1976.
24. *Portugal, Jahr der Revolution, Eine analytische Reportage*. Arno Munster, 1975, Rotbuch Verlag, Berlin, pp. 143.
25. *U.S. Newsweek*, Feb. 9, 1976.
26. *U.S. Newsweek*, Feb. 9, 1976.
27. *Temoignage Chretien*, April 21, 1975.
28. *Ibid.*
29. *Politique Hebdo*, Oct. 30, 1975.
30. See *Counterspy*, Winter 1975.
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Manifesto* (Portuguese) April 22, 1975.
33. *Ibid.*
34. *Temoignage Chretien*, March 20, 1975.
35. *Temoignage Chretien*, April 21, 1975.
36. *Temoignage Chretien*, March 20, 1975.
37. *Ibid.* 13. Shlonsky "Cantor" was named as a CIA agent in *ibid.* &

Although there is every reason to believe he is a CIA agent in *ibid.* & uncovered documentation of this relationship enough to declare him a CIA agent. Same goes for "Morgan".

38. *Cambio* 16, May 5, 1975.
39. *Liberation*, March 25, 1975.
40. *Cambio* 16, Sept. 8, 1975. Also, *Counterspy* interviews with witnesses.
41. *Foreign Affairs*, 1st State.
42. *Ibid.* 2, p. 91.
43. *Ibid.*
44. *Cambio* 16, Oct. 27, 1975.
45. *Afrique-Aste*, April 7, 1975.
46. *Ibid.* 44.
47. *Le Monde*, March 25, 1975.
48. *Ibid.* 44.
49. *Le Courrier du Zaire*, Oct. 8, 1975.
50. *Le Courrier du Zaire*, Oct. 8, 1975.
51. *Le Courrier du Zaire*, Oct. 8, 1975.
52. *Diaro de Lisboa*, Oct. 15 (approx.) 1975.
53. *Stern*, (German) March-April 1976. Spinoia has concentrated mainly on wealthy industrialist in his campaign for more support. In October 1975, he visited the Council on Foreign Relations in New York City on a well-publicized tour through the United States.


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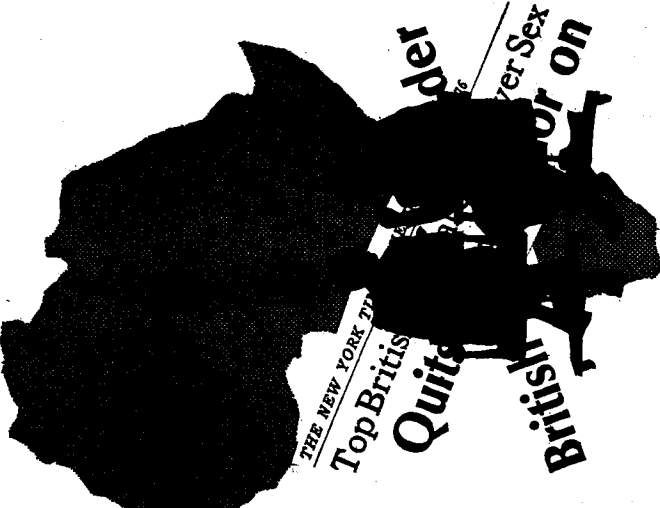
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CIA
AROUND THE WORLD

Apartheid's Corporate Covert Action South African Intelligence & U.S. Corporation Oust Britain's Liberal Leaders



Winslow Peck

Has that persistent foe of South African apartheid, Great Britain's Liberal Party, been abetted by apartheid's power- and fertile engine, the Anglo American Corporation? Were Anglo American English liberals, or to cover up corporate bribes to the highest officials in Western governments through a black market diamond smuggling operation? Did South Africa's largest business conglomerate use the services of the British intelligence secret police, the Bureau of State Security (BOSS), or the CIA?

After conversations with well-known British journalists, police investigators and other sources, *CounterSpy* can now try to answer these questions gnawing at the British political conscience. Investigative journalism traditions have prevented the entire bizarre plot from being published in England to date. Our sources suggest that accusations from an out-of-work male model of an estranged homosexual affair with Liberal Party leader Jeremy Thorpe, what may be a frame-up bank robbery charge on Peter Hain, head of the Young Liberals, and the appearance of a powerful Liberal M.P.'s daughter in an inane porno film are connected in a calculated plot to collapse the Party leadership.

The white rulers of South Africa have strong hatred for England's Liberals. While the British Conservative and Labour parties tend to equate the business interests of South Africa with British interests, the Liberals have consistently voiced animosity toward the apartheid system. South Africa's news media have made the Liberals the stock "devil" for all British action against South African interests. When Liberals in Parliament stand against British organization with South Africa, or when Young Liberals organize anti-apartheid demonstrations, South Africa's white leaders sink into paranoia. To apartheid's leadership, Liberals and their influence are the source of all South Africa's problems in Britain.

When former Prime Minister Harold Wilson defended Jeremy Thorpe in Parliament just two days before his resignation, he confirmed London's persistent rumor that South African interests were behind the accusations against Thorpe. But by that time, copies of a secret timetable titled "Disruption of the Liberal Party" were circulating among apartheid's foes.

At least one source has claimed the document, "Disruption of the Liberal Party," originated in the security offices of the Anglo American Corporation—a huge mining, chemical and textile firm with interests in all areas of South African finance. Harry Oppenheimer, chairman of the board of Anglo Amer-

ican, is widely regarded as a liberal opposed to the present system of separate development for blacks and whites. But his practices themselves show him to be as orthodox as any other South African industrialist. He wants to put a clean face on South Africa's vile system of racial separation by awarding privileges to a tiny African middle class. There is no reason to believe Oppenheimer is any less angry at the Liberals than the most rabid Afrikaner in South Africa.

A more immediate purpose for assaulting the Liberals than general hatred may be Oppenheimer's and other Anglo executives' fear that the termination of their years of bribing top government officials had reached the hands of Liberal scandal-mongers. Anti-apartheid groups are known to be on the trail of documents revealing Swiss bank account numbers and withdrawal checks which Anglo used to pay off European, British and American officials. British police and Anglo American security men are in the same trail. The trail blazer they are all seeking is a mystery this former employee of Anglo American named Kamill. Kamill worked for Anglo American as a general trouble shooter, with a professed specialty for converting Anglo American diamonds into cash on the black market. The cash route continued untraced, consequently, government tariffs on the diamonds are not deducted from the sales. A statement given to the *London Sunday Telegraph* by one of Kamill's employees suggests that Kamill has proof of Anglo American's bribes and may have attempted blackmail of the apartheid corporation.

An added dimension to the plot is the involvement of Gordon Winter, a reporter for the *Johannesburg Sunday Express*, who was instrumental in spreading the stories of Jeremy Thorpe's alleged sexual activities. Winter is known to have been an informer for South Africa's police and the dreaded Bureau of State Security. By his own admission he worked in the late 60s and early 70s for the two London-based CIA propaganda organs—the now defunct *Forum World Features* and its still operating successor, the Institute for the Study of Conflict—which were strong relationships with BOSS. BOSS is also believed to have broken into homes and offices of anti-apartheid leaders in London and the continent, though after Harold Wilson's defense of Thorpe in Parliament, the chief of BOSS went before a television camera in Pretoria denying BOSS involvement in the plot against the Liberals.

The CIA helped BOSS switch from an exclusive internal security focus to worldwide operations against the enemies of apartheid. The CIA station is prominently in liaison with its South African client. But with the recent change in U.S. attitude towards Africa following Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's tour of black Africa, the areas of cooperation between CIA and BOSS may also be changing. There is worry at the State Department that the apartheid regime may be so desperate from international sanctions and the potential actions of black Africa that it is becoming an "outlaw" state. If this continues the CIA may not be able to temper BOSS's adventurist actions or the private security apparatus of corporations like Anglo American.

Target: British Liberals

Jeremy Thorpe had been the leader of the Liberal Party for 11 years when in January he faced an inquiry by the Department of Trade and Industry about the collapse of a London and Counties bank he directed. The investigation cleared Thorpe of any personal responsibility for the bank's activities but administered a mild rebuke that he had shown lack of judgement in his dealings with the bank's executive officers. The Liberal leader's problems might have then dropped from the headlines had Norman Scott, a self-styled author and male

model, not appeared in court on a charge of dishonestly obtaining state benefits and claimed that he was being "hounded" because he had once had a "sexual relationship" with the Liberal leader.

Scott's allegations were flatly denied by Thorpe. Leading Liberal MP's admitted that they had heard the same allegation, inquired into it, and dismissed it as long ago as 1971. There, too, the matter might have ended had not Peter Bessel, a former Liberal MP who later disappeared in the United States, admitted paying Scott between \$400 and \$600. Though Bessel never surfaced in person, he made a statement through solicitors explaining that the money was unconnected with the allegations against Thorpe. His parliamentary colleagues very properly accepted Thorpe's strong denial, but only after arranging their own "kangaroo court." Thorpe told the meeting that he would resign if others felt it was in the Party's interest. But the Liberal Chief Whip, Cyril Smith, said this would not be required. Although the Liberal MP's claimed to be united around their leader it soon became evident that a leadership crisis had developed in the Party.

Norman Scott had received \$5000 (anonymously) for letters addressed to him by the mysterious Peter Bessel. With this accusation Thorpe's rivals in the Liberal Party jumped on the bandwagon against Thorpe. Fortunately for Thorpe, his good friend David Holmes stepped forward, admitting to his illness in paying for letters which had been widely circulated among Liberal MP's and journalists, and which had even been examined by police, at Thorpe's insistence in 1974. Despite Holmes' admission, the bandwagon had its own momentum; Thorpe's opposition continues. Yet, while Thorpe fights to maintain his leadership of the party, which many Liberal MP's believe he will lose come the fall election, there is actually little public support for Scott's derogatory allegations.

Last October, a 6 ft. tall man with shoulder-length slightly curly brown hair, slim, with a long thin face, unshaven, stole £490 from Barclays Bank in Putney. The man ran from the bank with three teenage boys chasing after him. During the trial on the theft, the boys testified that the thief turned and glared at them at least three times giving them an opportunity to see his face. They claim that the thief ran into a crowd and after a momentary jostling when some of the stolen money was dropped, he disappeared.

A short while later, research student Peter Hain, 26, was arrested for the robbery. Hain, president of the Young Liberals, and a strong supporter of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in London, had participated in several anti-apartheid demonstrations. One such demonstration, in 1970, took place outside the robbed bank to protest against the bank's considerable financial interests in South Africa. At trial, the prosecutors argued that Hain had robbed the bank because of his animosity toward their South African connections. But several witnesses have testified that Hain was not the man they saw running through town on the day of the robbery. (The trial was in progress as *CounterSpy* went to press.)

Political Pornography

In 1975, a new porno film was produced by Ken Taylor, who had been a personal friend of Mandy Rice-Davies, a cat-girl involved in the Profumo Scandal of 1963. Taylor's latest movie was called "Spicks Delight" or "Turkish Delight" and according to some reports was filmed in fashionable Hamstead in the home of a prominent Liberal MP. One of the women in the film was a mistress of a cabinet minister (for ex-minister), and another was the daughter of a Liberal MP whose house was used for the film set.



the mystery man Kamil. Kamil worked during the sixties as a special investigator for Anglo American. His job involved reports on disaffected Anglo Americans for Anglo American. Kamil also traded in Anglo Americans for Anglo American. Kamil told Wyatt that he would be named off and sold on the black market so that no trace of the funds produced could be found. Anglo American would have to pay the various government taxes on the diamonds. The funds, Kamil claimed, were used to bribe high officials in foreign governments. Kamil showed Wyatt a list of Swiss bank account numbers of the high officials who had been paid the bribes. Kamil says that Anglo American had paid about 79 people and that he inclusive £26 million in bribery over the period 1953 and 1956 he had the proof. Wyatt's testimony to the Sunday Telegraph leaves the impression that Kamil is offering to blackmail Anglo American for some money he believed was owed to him. During the course of his transactions he threatened Anglo American with sabotage of over 1,000 minutes which would lead to the possible deaths of over 1,000 minutes. This would be highly embarrassing to the "rich but left" Oppenheimer. Kamil also talked of running weapons and funds to a mercenary group in Mozambique, and several other bizarre deals he was involved with.

The anti-apartheid movement also knew of Kamil and the "proof" he had of Anglo American bribes. Two people sympathetic to the anti-apartheid drive contacted Wyatt while he was in Kamil's employ and urged him to get the file from Kamil to convince Kamil he should turn it over to them. They told Wyatt that the information contained proof that two ex-cabinet ministers had received substantial payments from Anglo American. They told him that if he could get the documents the Liberal Party would jump on the bandwagon of the expose. But before Wyatt could act, he was arrested and proceeded by British police and Anglo American security forces to identify the anti-apartheid movement couple that had approached him to obtain Kamil's documents. It was after this that he made his statement to the Sunday Telegraph. Counter-Spy has heard no further word about Kamil at this time other than a rumor that he and Anglo American have worked out a deal and that he is in their good graces again.

The Winter of Our Discontent

While the investigations are currently in progress in London, it is the history of a Mr. Gordon Winter which is providing the most interesting aspects of the case. Gordon Winter is a British journalist who circulated the stories accusing the Liberal leader, Jeremy Thorpe of the homosexual relationship. Gordon Winter had been involved in the South African underworld as an informer while working for South African newspapers. He currently works for the Johannesburg Sunday Express. During the course of the Thorpe scandal in London, he admitted to the Guardian that he worked as a staff journalist during the late 1960's and early 1970's for a London-based, internationally active newspaper called Forum World Features (FWF).

Winter was also secretary during the time to the National Union of Journalists London Freelance Branch and had arranged for various freelance journalists to use Forum Services. Both Forum World Features and the National Union of Journalists are well-exposed CIA fronts which used journal-ists to spread CIA-biased information. FWF closed down in April, 1975, shortly before London's Time Our magazine exposed its CIA connections. The National Union of Journalists was exposed in Philip Agee's CIA Diary for its propaganda work on behalf of the agency in Latin America. Time Our received a copy of a classified CIA report

Anglo American has interests in mining, textiles, chemicals, steel and diamonds. It has been connected to the Morgan family in the United States since J.P. Morgan's original investment in 1917. Anglo American is the corporate flagship of Harry Oppenheimer, South Africa's largest employer. Oppenheimer is the most notorious establishment critic of the current apartheid status but he has probably more than any other like to fund the economic machine on which the strength of whites supremacy stands. A supporter of the Progressive Party, Oppenheimer has helped run munitions factories for the Nationalist Party governments of the late Dr. Verwoerd and Mr. Vorster, in South Africa. While somewhat sentimental by night in Africa, Oppenheimer has proven his loyalty. Although he is an English-speaking capitalist, he was one of the first businessmen to go into partnership with diamonds, Christmas-farming Dutch-descend, Afrikaners. He is also a supporter of Vorster's "outward-looking" policy as a way of seeking close trade and investment with independent Africa. Oppenheimer has also become the symbol of the theory which South Africa becomes more prosperous the more it pursues racial discrimination will be obvious to all, and the country will become more liberal.

Oppenheimer has openly criticized apartheid for years. He says, "A country should develop its full economic potential if it does not restrict the best uses of its labor force." This is the key to his opposition to apartheid and his great vision for South Africa. No need here about equal rights for Africans. No call for integrated education for an end to segregation, for adult white-collar differences will be replaced by educational and class differences. He, and the Progressive Party, foresee a time when the vote will be given to a few of the Africans who manage to break through the barriers of an inferior, segregated educational system and achieve middle-class status. Basically his "richer, but better" approach is to raise the quality of black labor but his vision is not concerned with a democratic South Africa but with economic growth.

The definitive Penguin pocketbook, *The South African Constitution: Western Inevitability in Apartheid*, concludes that: "Oppenheimer is far-sighted enough to realize that a capitalist economic system can best be maintained in the Republic by strengthening its economic, political and military links with the rest of the capitalist world, and by the gradual award of privileges to the African middle class. If this middle class can be made an ally, identifying more with the white minority than with the African majority, as it may, as it grows, provide a ready buffer for white supremacy. As far as apartheid is a feasible system for preserving white control, this policy is appropriate to the African situation."

In 1970, Harry Oppenheimer, chairman of the Anglo American Corporation, gave a lecture commemorating Cecil Rhodes, the founder of the white settler regime in Rhodesia, known to most of the world as Zimbabwe. In the speech he revealed something about the model he has for an ideal South Africa. Oppenheimer said that although the methods Rhodes employed were certainly involved harshness, and perhaps even trickery, he was inspired by "a great vision." It was of "a great modern industrialized state in South Africa in which all civilized men could enjoy equal rights." And, Oppenheimer said, this vision was still valid. It was, "the only way we will be able to remain white and prosperous."

Oppenheimer is not above a certain "harshness, and perhaps even trickery" himself. One of his many employees has been

On March 3, 1976 these three seemingly unrelated events were connected. The London Sunday Telegraph took a remarkable statement from Kenneth Wyatt, a well-known porn broker, which involved underworld characters, look-alike doubles, blackmail attempts, mercenary armies, mass assassination attempts, black marketing and bribery of high British officials. His story seemed so fantastic at first that many readers dismissed it as lunatic ravings until his predictions turned into headlines in the following weeks.

Wyatt, the porn broker, testified that he became involved in a bizarre adventure involving the accusations against Thorpe, the trial of Peter Hain, and the movie "Shicks Delight." He claims that he was approached by Ken Taylor to sell the film and in the course of events also learned that it would be used for blackmail because of the MP's daughter's performance. The film deal was never completed but, in the underworld where Wyatt travels, new opportunities are always emerging; Wyatt was soon approached by a friend to do work for a mysterious man named Kamil who had documents he needed transported around Europe. Wyatt's job was to find women to be courters. While employed with Kamil, Wyatt saw documents processed by Kamil, called *Disruption of the Liberal Party*, which Kamil told him had been prepared in the security offices of Kamil's former employer, the Anglo American Corporation of South Africa.

The documents detailed a five-stage plot against the Liberal Party which involved: sneaks against Liberal Party members, including Jeremy Thorpe; the Peter Hain frame-up; and the producing of the blackmail film, "Shicks Delight," which Wyatt earlier had been asked to sell. As one example, the film maintained that Anglo American security agents had found a Peter Hain "double" in Johannesburg and that in August they had flown him to London via Brussels and Dublin. In London, the look-alike purchased a car and clothes and returned to Peter Hain's Anglo American agents then watched Hain's house and, via two-way radio, notified the impersonator, who then committed the robbery. The man was extremely well covered so he could not be caught, yet he made sure his face was visible to passersby until he disappeared.

This information was ultimately given to the Peter Hain defense, which checked with Anglo American. The corporation claimed to have no such person, the "double," on their payroll. But upon checking in Johannesburg, the defense discovered that he had arrived at his home with a new car and this of money, now both the look-alike and Hain's wife have disappeared.

The existence of Wyatt's testimony, as well as several copies, in London, of the paper *Disruption of the Liberal Party*, moved Prime Minister Harold Wilson to defend Thorpe and the Liberals in Parliament. In that speech, just before his retirement, Wilson alluded to foreign interests (South Africa) behind the plot to discredit the Liberal leader. He insisted that he did not believe the "foreign interest" was a government, but rather a private commercial enterprise.

Anglo American Corporation

The business mentioned by Wyatt in his testimony is the Anglo American Corporation. Anglo American is the largest corporation in South Africa. It is almost an independent economic state centered in sub-Saharan Africa with interests in Britain, Germany and the United States. Anglo American, the most prominent of the multinational corporations active in Africa, has an interlocking system of holdings and directorates that spreads across the entire continent. More Like A Government than a Company" was the way *The Investors Chronicle* described Anglo American's international diversification.

One security man in the foyer of the hotel rose lazily from a chair on one occasion, without bothering to identify himself to me...

It is a normal part of training the defences against the feared enemy, the European liberator.

BOSS does not just target Africans but anti-apartheid groups, nationalist groups and elites and their surveillance is directed at sympathizers.

He has appeared on many political platforms lectured on the dangers of communism, and stated that "certain student organizations, newspaper reporters, churchmen and other intellectuals are under Communist influence."

One man beneath van den Bergh on the ladder of power in South Africa is General P.C. Heinein, Commandant-General of the Armed Forces.

By 1974 BOSS had greatly increased its power and by then the Security Police had become subordinate to it.

The Security Police had control of the Security Council cabinet members, the Ministers of Defence, Police, Foreign Affairs and Justice.

Time Out magazine reported that four years ago van den Bergh was injured in a serious accident in his home.

BOSS is not just an internal gettappo for apartheid, nor does it only spy on Africans, but has taken on the task of covert operations against anti-apartheid activists around the world.

In February 1976, Moses Garoboh of SWAPO, the movement trying to free Namibia of South African military occupation, was on a visit to London.

BOSS falls under the department of Bailliarz, Johannes (John) Vorster, who became Prime Minister on September 13, 1966, after the assassination of Dr. Verwoerd.

General of the Ossewabrandwag, the head of the Ossewabrandwag, the head of the Ossewabrandwag, the head of the Ossewabrandwag.

He can prevent any court or person from looking into what BOSS is doing or how it is interrogating its detainees.

In many ways, van den Bergh's powers are greater than those of the Prime Minister, since he is not answerable to Parliament or even the Cabinet.

Van den Bergh's rise to absolute power as the head of South Africa's police has been meteoric.

Colonel in 1963, when he was placed at the head of the security branch of the police.

Patrick Keatley reported in the March 21, 1975 Guardian of his experience with the surveillance network of BOSS.

I got my first shock about the existence of this all-pervasive network at the time of the Sharpsville shootings in 1960 on a trip that was to keep me on circuit in South Africa for the best part of two months.

They took me to a room where the instruments was double wrapped in thick blankets. This was the normal procedure day and night, because people of liberal views had learned that even when the receiver is on the hook the phone can pick up conversations in a room which can be tapped by the authorities.

Armed Forces, Gen. R.S. Heinein. The security branch of the Police was to be headed by Brig. "Tim" Vinter under the Commissioner of Police, Gen. J.P. Gaus.

The military was extremely upset over these new arrangements. The next step was taken on May 13 when the Minister of the Interior introduced the Public Service Amendment Bill which formerly authorized the creation of BOSS and made it free of control by the Public Services Administration (civil service).

On May 16, BOSS was officially formed. Its functions were defined in the Government Gazette as: (1) to investigate all matters affecting the security of the State, to correlate and evaluate the information collected and, where necessary, to inform and advise the government, interested government departments and other bodies in regard thereto; and (2) to perform such other functions and responsibilities as may be determined from time to time.

Up to this point commentators on BOSS usually made comparison to the CIA. But the Minister of the Interior was hesitant to draw any parallels. The Minister limited BOSS's activities to southern Africa, differentiating it from the CIA's global actions.

Then suddenly on June 2, only 18 days before the end of the Parliamentary session, the Government gave notice of a General Law Amendment Bill which was published on June 4. It was the usual omnibus measure introduced to tidy up a number of laws relating to rents, sports regulation and commerce.

Clause 10 amended the Official Secrets Act to make it an offense, punishable on conviction by a fine up to R1,500 or 7 years imprisonment or both fine and imprisonment, to disclose any "security matter."

Clause 29 authorized the Prime Minister or his nominee (usually van den Bergh -ed.) or any Cabinet Minister, to prohibit the giving of any evidence or the production of any document in any court or statutory body if the evidence or document is, in their opinion, "prejudicial to the interests of the state or public security."

The Government claimed that Clauses 10 and 29 contained no principles not already embodied in South African common or statute law. They also claimed that Clause 10 would only protect BOSS in the same ways the British SIS or the CIA were protected and that Clause 29 simply stated an old common law rule which had been upheld in courts for some time.

But this fooled no one and many lawyers and jurists lambasted this ruling as it gave the state virtual power to imprison without due process of law. Their protests were to no avail and BOSS began its rule of South Africa.

geance, besides its CIA and SIS connections. A researcher at the Institute met Peter Janke, for instance, who has close friends in the police establishments of many Western countries.

ISC has other relations with BOSS as revealed in the hundreds of documents on ISC activities received and reported on by Time Out in 1973. Janke had played host to a white South African "journalist" named Michael Morris who had come to London to do some research for a book.

ISC also has contacts with the intelligence service of "Rhodesia," a client of BOSS. ISC has worked with Colonel Claude Greathead of the "Rhodesian" service who became notorious in the mid-sixties for his blackmail attempts on Zambian leaders.

Winter currently denies that he is working for BOSS while spreading the story of Jeremy Thorpe's alleged sexual misconduct.

BOSSing Africa

The Bureau of State Security was created in controversy officially on the 16th of May, 1969. But the maneuvers to create the agency began earlier, the preceding year.

John Vorster announced that Lieutenant General H.J. van den Bergh, chief of the security branch of the police, would become the new Commissioner of Police.

Then in March, 1969, a debate arose between the Nationalist Party and the opposition United Party over the amount of money to spend on intelligence.

In addition they noticed that the amount for secret services under the allocation for police was increased from R1,012,000 in 1968/9 to R1,218,000 in 1969/70.

When these estimates were debated in April of that year, Vorster admitted that SA now had three "independent" security bodies, whose functions he refused to disclose.

picture of conflict between the Zulus and the government which the government immediately denied. The anger of the South African government was intense because the author Bob Jaster worked for the CIA.

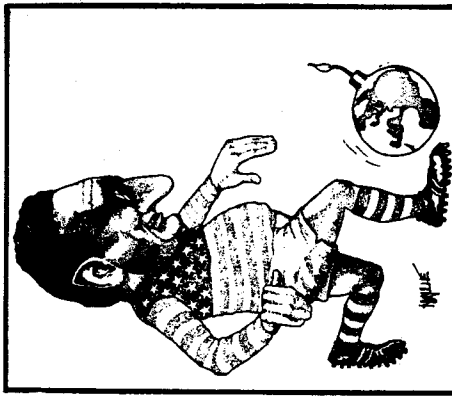
The article described him as a "foreign affairs analyst with the CIA Office of Police Research, who is currently writing a book on the origins of the Anglo-Zulu war of 1879. A white African officer. They said the publication that the CIA had no such office. They said the publication that the article was propaganda planned by the CIA as an indication of future U.S. policy on this issue. The author refused to discuss the article without the approval of his superiors at CIA headquarters. He did, however, say the article, "was not intended to please White South Africans."

Nixon/Kissinger Doctrine

The relationship of the CIA and BOSS consistently reflects the overall policy changes in U.S. relations with South Africa. BOSS was created shortly after Henry Kissinger issued National Security Study Memorandum 39 directing an interdepartmental staff to make a "comprehensive review of U.S. policy toward Southern Africa (south of Congo (K)) and Tanzania."

Kissinger had taken the helm of the Western political and economic system at a time of significant change in the role of the U.S. government as the ultimate power and protector of the global corporate imperialism. He realized that for the system to be maintained against any erosion — especially revolutionary challenges — a series of sub-imperial centers had to be created to serve as junior partners to sustain regional political and economic "stability." Otherwise, the necessity for American monopolies, such as Anglo-American, to maintain control over the resources and markets in these regions would be undetermined.

The first public announcement of the Nixon/Kissinger Doctrine — as the strategy of sub-imperialism has become known — came in President Nixon's "State of the World"



American radio stations and the Paris newspaper *Liberation* recently named Dorwin M. Wilson as head of CIA operations in Pretoria. He previously was in Nairobi and Lusaka. His predecessor was Francis John Jeton, according to a report in the *Rand Daily Mail*. The report mentioned that although his Embassy staff was small he was thought to head a team of 40 deep cover agents. Jeton joined the CIA in 1952 after a career in the Navy, a job as a shipping clerk, and a degree from George Washington University.

His first CIA appointment was to Damascus in Syria in November 1955 as a "consular officer." There he was joined by Howard "Rocky" Stone, who was described by the Beirut correspondent of the *New York Times* as America's "number one expert on coup d'états." On August 13, 1967, Stone, Jeton and a Colonel Robert W. Malloy were given 24 hours to leave Syria. They were accused of inspiring an attempted army coup.

After this Jeton was involved in many "cowboy" operations with the CIA. In November 1958, Jeton was posted as a vice-consul to Dakar, where he worked with George McMurrin Godley, later an assistant Secretary of State and close collaborator with the CIA in its secret war in Laos. Godley was replaced by the Senate in his nomination to the post of Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian Affairs but is currently Ambassador in war-torn Lebanon.

After a 16-month period in Washington, Jeton was posted to Kinshasa in the Congo in 1965 as a political officer in the Embassy. Godley was also in Kinshasa, then called Leopoldville. This was during the Congo power struggle when President Moise Tshombe, influenced by the CIA, hired mercenaries, mostly South Africans including some of those involved in the CIA's recent secret war in Angola.

After leaving Kinshasa in May 1968, Jeton served as political officer in Tunis before taking up his post in Pretoria in October 1973. Jeton's appointment to Pretoria at this time is an indication of the CIA's interest in working with BOSS against the liberation movements. This is Jeton's specialty. He has recently been seen in Paris, which is reported to be the center for CIA operations against the whole of Africa.

Jeton's deputy was Jarred Richardson who graduated from Oregon University and joined the CIA in 1966. After an appointment in Addis Ababa he was appointed economics and commercial officer in Pretoria in May 1973. More recently he was posted to Paris where he has been seen in the company of leaders of UNITA, one of the CIA-backed armies fighting in Angola.

The replacement of Jeton by Dorwin M. Wilson may be an indication of a changing relationship between the CIA and its sub-imperial client BOSS. Jeton was an expert in covert suppression of liberation movements, while Wilson has experience working with black African leaders. The CIA may be trying to apply pressure to BOSS and the South African government to liberalize their foreign and domestic racial policies as soon as possible.

In an article titled "The Zulus Rest" in the March 23, 1975 issue of the *Washington Post*, Bob Jaster estimated that Chief Buthezi, elected leader of South Africa's 4 million Zulus, had put his people squarely in the path of Vorster's political plan for the independence of the Bantustans where the black South Africans are forced to live. The author painted a

On May 4, 1976, the Nationalist Party government introduced new legislation to reassure the right wing that, while Prime Minister Vorster might be going out of his way to follow low Oppenheimer's suggestions to ingratiate himself with foreign blacks and even to be prepared to make "concessions," such as the vote for the new black middle class, internally, he is still capable of ruthlessly oppressing black political opposition. The bill gives the government sweeping new powers without critics say will make the country a full-fledged police state.

The non-denominational Christian Institute issued a report entitled "Detention and Detente in Southern Africa" detailing the cases of 217 people detained since Vorster launched his campaign to ease tensions with black Africa in 1974. Most of the cases involved people held without charge. The report charges that security legislation is "overwhelmingly" used against blacks "who are increasingly voicing the true grievances and aspirations of their people."

Helen Suzman, a Progressive-Reform member of Parliament, said the newly proposed legislation was, "A bloody little bill that took the country a long way down the road from the rule of law to a police state."

Most observers expressed surprise rather than outrage, however. They could not believe the government would feel a need to reinforce its measures to control the opposition so dramatically. These measures already include the Suppression of Communism Act, the Terrorism Act, the Sabotage Act, the Riotous Assemblies Act, the Criminal Procedures Act, the Unlawful Organizations Act, the Defence Act, and the General Law Amendment Act which created BOSS.

The new bill, a strengthening of the already broad Suppression of Communism Act of 1950, would empower police to arrest and detain anyone suspected of "endangering state security or the maintenance of public order" for as long as a year without bail, trial or legal counsel. With the large number of arrests and detentions already occurring, this bill will merely give legal sanction to the standard practice of BOSS and the police.

While the rightists are being placated by more repressive legislation, students and intellectuals are still caught in BOSS's web. The Office of Scientific Counselor at the South African Embassy in London, for instance, has been sending around questionnaires to the registrars of British universities, with the request that the questionnaires be distributed to South Africans studying there. The questionnaire includes questions on students' sources of finance, address, details of study and plans for the future. The students are also asked if they would like to subscribe to South African official propaganda such as *Report from South Africa* and *South African Digest*. *Time Out* reports that various South African government departments have used the information gleaned from the questionnaires to recruit scientists and technicians out of the university. According to a 1968 issue of *Rhodesia*, the student newspaper at Rhodes University, no less than 11 students at South African universities were approached by the security branch to undertake spying between September and November of that year. Since the creation of BOSS, students have been a convenient asset for South African spying on the European university-based anti-apartheid activity.

The CIA Connection

Most observers believe that BOSS could not have made such dramatic headway at international spring after 1969 without help from the CIA. The relations between the two agencies are very important. Philip Agee says that a woman who worked in channel money and other types of logistical supplies through the complaints to the CIA operations against African liberation

the evening and when he returned he found his room had been entered and his papers taken. In 1973, the anonymous Club of Ten surfaced in London taking expensive advertisements in the British press in defense of white southern Africa. Investigators found extraordinary secrecy and a good deal of circumstantial evidence pointing to the South African government. The offices of the Anti-Apartheid Movement and the African National Congress (South Africa), as well as the homes of those working in these organizations have been broken into many times and the police have never been able to discover the culprits. Most recently during the state fleeing the Liberals in London, the former Prime Minister's solidor's office was burglarized in what many suspect was related to the South African affairs.

In April, 1968, just before the creation of BOSS, van den Bergh and Brig. Venier, the Commissioner of Police, paid a secret visit to London. Afterwards, a Nationalist Party paper commented that they were not there on a holiday. On the contrary, what the paper said was that "what the police have not lost sight of is that the organization which is currently the greatest threat to South Africa... the Anti-Apartheid Movement... had its headquarters in London... those to the right of the Nationalist Party and corporate magnates like Oppenheimer. A few years ago van den Bergh personally supervised what appeared to be a case of petty theft upon closer examination proved to be more sinister: documents related to the rightist Afrikaner secret society, the Broederbond, were missing.

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But in late April, 1976 Kissinger made his historic tour of Africa reversing earlier U.S. attitudes. Kissinger pledged support for the black nations in their struggle to liberate Zimbabwe from the "Rhodesian" settler regime of Ian Smith and encouraged South Africa to give up its hold over Namibia. Simultaneously South Africa concluded a new series of agreements with Israel. In the State Department both of these moves have been interpreted as representing a widening gap in the association of the U.S. to the apartheid government. Some State Department personnel are referring to the South African-Israeli relationship as the development of a "6th World" composed of the most right-wing states of the capitalist imperium. Some openly fear that South Africa and other dictatorships may move independent of U.S. hegemony in world affairs.

In such a changing political atmosphere it is difficult to predict the actions of the policy instruments of either the U.S. or South Africa. But it is altogether possible that BOSS may increase its unilateral actions independent of CIA assistance, encouragement or monitoring. It is altogether possible that BOSS's unilateral actions, or those of the private security arms of corporations like Anglo American, may conduct operations of which the CIA would disapprove.

Until investigations in London are completed we do not know conclusively that BOSS was behind the attempts to destabilize the Liberal Party. We do not know if the CIA approved or did not approve any of the alleged operations. We do not know fully the role of the Anglo American Corporation in these events or the years of bribes which have been alleged by former Anglo American employees and members of the anti-apartheid movement. What we do know is that all of these events occur within the economic, political and destined relationships of Britain, South Africa and the U.S.

In such a volatile atmosphere bizarre intrigue of destabilizing political parties, bribery of high government officials, mysterious characters with secret police and CIA connections, and crimes of every proportion are becoming the rule rather than the exception of international relations. In such an atmosphere it may become increasingly difficult to determine what force has more influence over events. We do not know who is really the BOSS.

Jeremy Thorpe resigned on May 11, 1976 as CounterSpy was going to press.

FOOTNOTES

1. Taylor had put two-way mirrors in the apartment of a London society couple. In 1963 he was arrested for living on immoral earnings. Ward used Mandy Rice-Davies and Christine Keeler for his living, which included blackmail from the lurid photographs taken by Ken Taylor through that two-way mirror. Two of the dignitaries involved in the affair were the Rt. Hon. John Dennis Profumo, Britain's Secretary of State for War at the time and the Soviet naval attaché Evgeny Ivanov, whom had been suspected of having had an affair with Ward. Davies and Keeler became known, Britain was rocked by one of its most devastating scandals and Profumo was forced to resign.

2. CounterSpy has heard many rumors of diamonds being used to finance much of the CIA backed UNITA and Frelimo aggression in Angola. In April, 1975, Paulo Guma, president of the Mozambique Revolutionary Committee (Coremo) — then held prisoner by FRELIMO, the Mozambique liberation force — admitted his organization received money from the CIA and Portuguese secret police PIDE. Coremo obtained the money in an ill-fated attempt to overthrow the PIDE in 1974. In 1975, CounterSpy was told the CIA had the backing of South African interests. Part of the financial arrangement was \$16,000 channeled through a Lisbon company.

address on February 19, 1970. The Doctrine was initially only applied to Indochina and was known as "Vietnamization" and was designed not to bring peace but to prolong that war. Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker, who was directing the war at the time, referred to the policy change as needed to "change the color of the corpses." After the dramatic defeats of U.S. policy in Indochina, the U.S. could no longer play the role of international policeman.

As with Indochina, Kissinger could not ignore the global significance of Africa when formulating his global policy. With the closing of the Suez Canal following the 1967 Middle East War and the increase of Soviet naval activities in the Indian Ocean South Africa was of strategic importance to control the Cape trade routes. The U.S. also needed to use overflight and landing facilities in or near Africa for military aircraft heading to and from Indochina and later the Middle East. And the considerable investment and balance of trade advantages to Britain and the U.S. in South Africa needed to be protected. South Africa is even more strategic to U.S. policy because of its status as the major supplier in the capitalist world of gold — controlled by the Anglo American Corporation — and its importance in guaranteeing the useful operation of the two-tier gold price system.

To develop this policy Kissinger's NSC staff, composed of representatives of the NSC, Treasury, Commerce, the Joint Chiefs, AID and NASA, responded to the NSM 39 memo and prepared their report. The study indicates that the U.S. had five policy objectives in southern Africa:

- 1) The likelihood of direct U.S. involvement in the conflicts there had to be minimized.
- 2) The Soviet Union and China were to be prevented from exploiting the racial situation there to gain political influence among African government and liberation movements.
- 3) The U.S. had to encourage the colonial and settler regimes to moderate their racial and colonial policies.
- 4) The U.S. stand on the racial issue in Africa and elsewhere had to be improved.
- 5) American economic, scientific and strategic interests and opportunities in the area had to be protected.

The study acknowledged that these objectives were, in many instances conflicting and irreconcilable. Thus, the Nixon/Kissinger Doctrine was a dilemma from the beginning. *If the U.S. maintained close ties with the colonial and settler regimes in southern Africa, this would in the long run jeopardize American relationships with the rest of Africa and the Third World.*

For the next seven years of the Nixon/Kissinger Doctrine the U.S. strengthened the economic, military and political systems of several sub-imperial clients such as Brazil in Latin America and Iran in the Middle East. One aspect of this strategic approach was the CIA liaison with BOSS. But throughout the period there was a waffling over policy. While generally favoring a broader association with both black and white states to encourage moderation in South Africa, attempting to enlist cooperation of the black states in reducing tensions and the likelihood of increased cross-border violence and encouraging relations among the states in the area, the U.S. consistently tilted towards a closer association with the white regimes to protect and enhance U.S. interests.

In October 1974, in *Esquire*, Tad Szulc revealed that another secret Kissinger document, a National Security Council Decision Memorandum (NSDDOM) of 1970 which said that "The whites are here to stay and the only way constructive change can come about is through them." This policy appeared to be operating through the early seventies including the period of the CIA's secret war of assistance to South African invasion of Angola.





SILVERMINE

Whitlow Peck

Members of Congress, the U.S. Navy and the super-secret National Security Agency (NSA) are submitting to South Africa's offer to let them use Silvermine, a multi-million dollar espionage control complex that probably doesn't work.

Silvermine is touted as an "ultra-modern and fully computerized maritime communications and electronic espionage center with the ability to maintain a continuous watch over all air and sea traffic from Bangladesh to South America." South Africa claims it would be a vital element of any NATO/South African joint military operation.¹

But many critics, familiar with telecommunications and electronic espionage, believe Silvermine may be just a lot of electronic gizmos.

The U.S. believes Silvermine has good communication systems as well as ADVOKAAT, the military communications network so greatly praised by South African defense leaders. They also believe the exaggerated description of Silvermine's

intelligence capabilities. Some critics even believe the new and top-secret electronic sensor battlefield — developed for Silvermine to monitor and prevent infiltration of guerrilla insurgents across the border between black and white Africa — is a fake.

Silvermine is only the sweetener in the unparalleled South African government's larger maneuver to join NATO and secure the Southern Oceans for the West. For almost a decade, South Africa has offered NATO its sea ports, numerous small airfields and its small, but well-equipped army. In return, South Africa hopes American and European firepower will protect it from its black neighbors to the north. This proposition found ready ears in NATO as well as the Pentagon.

A Washington, D.C. firm, registered with the Department of Justice as agents of South Africa, arranged many promotional meetings for Silvermine. The firm also has close ties to right-wing industrial and corporate media holdings in both the U.S. and the Republic of South Africa. They have also

arranged for U.S. officials to tour Silvermine.

Melvin Laird, former Secretary of Defense and a new member of President Ford's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board which oversees all U.S. intelligence programs, expressed interest in the South African proposal after a tour of the Silvermine.

Western military strategists are ripe for South Africa's offer because they worry about the Soviet naval buildup in the Indian Ocean and the South Atlantic. Although CIA analysts believe Soviet forces deployed in the Indian Ocean "have been relatively small and inactive," the U.S. Navy still shows concern.³ They believe the increase in U.S. naval ships in the Indian Ocean from no "ship days" in 1967 to some 1,460 "ship days" spent there in 1971 to over 2,400 in 1974 may affect political developments along the Persian Gulf in Africa and on the Indian subcontinent. Finally, with the collapse of Portuguese authority in southern Africa, some Western strategists view "this bullish rival" as a test of American power "whose recently realized military outreach leads to dangerous adventures."⁴

Pentagon brass are also receptive to the purchase of Silvermine because they believe their naval port tele communications intelligence facility on the island of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean may be too isolated to adequately monitor Soviet ships. During debates over the latest appropriation for the island, the Navy implied that the Diego Garcia base would make a big difference to U.S. defense capabilities, because it would be the only base that could be used to strike targets in both China and the Soviet Union.

But Chester Bowles, a former ambassador to India, wrote at the time: "If we intend to frighten the Russians and others out of the Indian Ocean, it is a laughable gesture."⁵ Taking a different viewpoint is former CIA Director William E. Colby who claims the use of Diego Garcia may actually speed up the Soviet presence as a response to the U.S.⁶

Sea Power magazine in November, 1975, claimed, there is "absolutely no doubt the U.S. Navy would like to maintain a permanent mini-fleet (destroyers, frigates, submarines, gunboats, and perhaps even an aircraft carrier)" in South Africa.

The Physical Cavern of Silvermine

According to several reliable sources, Silvermine was commissioned in 1973 by South African Prime Minister John Vorster after an initial investment of about \$30 million. Silvermine is headquarters for a communications and intelligence system with two territorial commands at Durban on the east coast and Walvis Bay in South Africa-occupied Namibia on the west coast. There is a transmitting station about 40 miles away at Durbanville, to prevent transmitters from the stations from affecting the receivers at Silvermine. The stations' power generation system can supply power to a town of 10,000 inhabitants. The Durbanville station is linked to the Silvermine center through microwave remote control.

The center of Silvermine is so far beneath the ground that a great degree of protection is afforded, to both equipment and personnel. Against conventional as well as biological and atomic weapons, protection is planned so well that every building can function as a self-sufficient shelter from either the other buildings or the outside world. The upper floor of the complex is protected by two massive steel doors and hidden cameras. This control point is the prime of a entire system. On this same floor is the computer room and the connection center, which handle all direct radio calls from either local or overseas communication centers. All the telephone lines are linked to the National communications network (ships, airplanes, etc.) which forms an important bridge linking South

African defense communication systems to the armed forces of the West.

Nearly two thirds of the 1800 cubic meters of floor space is for various staff offices, as well as a conference room. The offices of the Operational Staff running Silvermine are one floor deeper in the stone mountain.⁷ The bomb-proof center is now equipped with radar scopes, computers, crypto machines, and other communication equipment designed to acquire, collate, and maintain a continuous surveillance of all air and sea traffic along South Africa's seacoasts.

In a puff-piece for Silvermine, Neil Ulman of the *Wall Street Journal* described the facility in a report filed from South Africa on July 31, 1975:

"On Silvermine's video screens, the ocean areas from the east coast of South America to Bangladesh and from the bulge of West Africa to the Antarctic can be represented in their entirety or in sections of various sizes. At the touch of a computer console, a watch officer can summon, for example a geographic display of all merchant ships in any selected area, or all eastbound merchant ships, or all naval vessels. Having spotted a vessel on the video display, the operator can query the computer for any combination of the ship's characteristics, including type, size, course, speed, flag, cargo, weapons, search and rescue capabilities, last port, destination, radar and communications equipment, medical facilities or personnel embarked and even the hours at which the ship's radio officers stand watch. The console keyboard also evokes similar data on all aircraft in the area."

The criticism of Silvermine may be best exemplified by the Commander of Silvermine who was quoted in the same article as saying the "data are only as good as the intelligence the computer receives." Several experts on communications and intelligence interviewed both here and in Europe, claim that the bulk of Silvermine's data on ships and planes come from ordinary shipping and air travel lists such as the Lloyds Shipping List. These are the common sources of the data displayed on Silvermine's computer consoles. The critics believe Silvermine is no better than any routine air or sea terminal in its ability to monitor traffic.

Critics discount even the capabilities of advanced telecommunications spying on ships and aircraft in the region. Visits from NSA to its British counterpart, Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ), has resulted in some improvements of Silvermine's electronic espionage capabilities. The Electronic Warfare SIGINT could give Silvermine the capability of monitoring communications and radar transmission to gain information on the source of those transmissions. If Silvermine could use SIGINT effectively, it could break codes of Soviet ships in the Indian Ocean, locate Soviet submarines, analyze new radar equipment on Soviet submarines, analyze new radar communications on Soviet submarines, analyze new radar communications of other African governments, analyze guerrilla units.

Electronic Warfare, if utilized properly, could cover a vast range of activities for Silvermine. With an electromagnetic spectrum that has been polarized and militarily aggressive adversary nations confront each other electronically, Silvermine can protect South Africa's planes and ships by finding and identifying other ships and submarines using Cape Town lanes. Silvermine could conceivably use Electronic Warfare sensors to hear, see and smell as well.

Although South Africa may be able to provide a SIGINT and an Electronic Warfare shield for its borders, it cannot possibly surveil an area as vast as that from South America to the far side of the Indian Ocean. Silvermine does not have the antennae arrangement needed to cover the area; nor did Silvermine receive the best equipment with which to break Soviet

naval codes; and any Soviet submarine could adequately evade Silvermine's underwater monitoring.

Project ADVOKAAT in Silvermine

In 1973, after an enormous investment, South Africa began Project ADVOKAAT. ADVOKAAT is supposed to be the most modern communications and intelligence system in the world with reported links to nearby Durban and Walvis Bay, Puerto Rico, Diego Garcia, Mauritius in the Indian Ocean, Hong Kong, Australia, New Zealand, Singapore, and the NSA's CRITCOM communications station at Londonderry, as well as the NATO communications system, ADVOKAAT's routine unclassified intelligence is also fed to the U.S. Coast Guard's worldwide search and rescue center at Governor's Island in New York City.

Many technological experts who have examined ADVOKAAT claim it is nothing more than a simple improvement on the existing high frequency ham radio communications and in certain instances is slower than using telephone lines. However, there is one new element to ADVOKAAT that experts say has raised eyebrows.

Jock Hall, a former telecommunications expert for the British Marconi corporation, recently left Marconi Communications Systems Ltd., when he realized the significant role it played in Southern Africa. He exposed the company's construction of a new communications link from Silvermine to an electronic battlefield in Namibia. Hall wrote that the South Africans already possessed the radar, detection devices (SIGINT and Electronic Warfare), and the computer to implement this defense system, but that it "must have the Marconi Tropospheric Scatter (Tropo) System to link their surveillance centers and strike bases to the main military control center at Silvermine."

"Silvermine is just another toy to impress NATO."

Tropo is used by all major military powers for medium and long range communications because it offers secure and reliable links without vulnerable ground relay systems by bouncing messages off a layer in the atmosphere. This technology is supposed to overcome the dilemma that "people are too slow to think for modern warfare." It can carry electronic information, as well as voices, from radar systems, electronic battlefield sensors, and reconnaissance aircraft. The data can then be analyzed by computers hundreds of miles away from the battle, and command decisions made and implemented automatically by the computer in fractions of a second.

Hall was asked to install the troposcatter system for the system for the wars against Black Africa he quit. He stated these reasons for its use in Southern Africa:

"The growing power of Black Africa represents a long-term strategic threat to the South African occupation of Namibia, to which a sophisticated defense system would be a valuable counter. The immediate problem facing the occupying forces is guerrilla activity . . . and infiltration from Angola and Zambia. Their presence has put heavy demands on the limited manpower of the South Africans, whose attempts at repression have achieved little solid success. They hope to change this by augmenting their border defenses with automated detection devices linked to the computer center at Silvermine."

The South African Defense Department recently purchased sensors. These are of various types, but most resemble "bugs" used in espionage to detect sound, ground vibrations caused by vehicles or infantry, and heat emissions (infra-red) from engines or people. Other sensors work like chemical "sniffers" to detect explosives, and optical "tripwire" devices which signal when an invisible light beam is interrupted. These devices would be equipped with small low-power transmitters, sending the information to local centers and then, via the Tropo network, to Silvermine. Sensors will also respond to animal movement and other natural activity. Since human monitoring of the large number of sensors is impractical, computer analysis must be used to identify and locate potential threats while ignoring the false alarms.¹⁰

Once the computer has identified a threat, it could activate mines or other weapon systems in the area and relay information back to air bases in the area to guide bomb raids on the target. Finding the enemy is the biggest problem in counter-guerrilla tactics, and electronic intelligence gathering can significantly reduce the demand on ground forces.

According to Hall and others, the electronic battlefield has probably been activated in the key border areas around the Cuneene Dam in Angola and the Caprivri Strip but could conceivably cover the entire border. The loss of South African control of this dam, which supplies power to several major uranium mines, would impede South Africa's nuclear program.

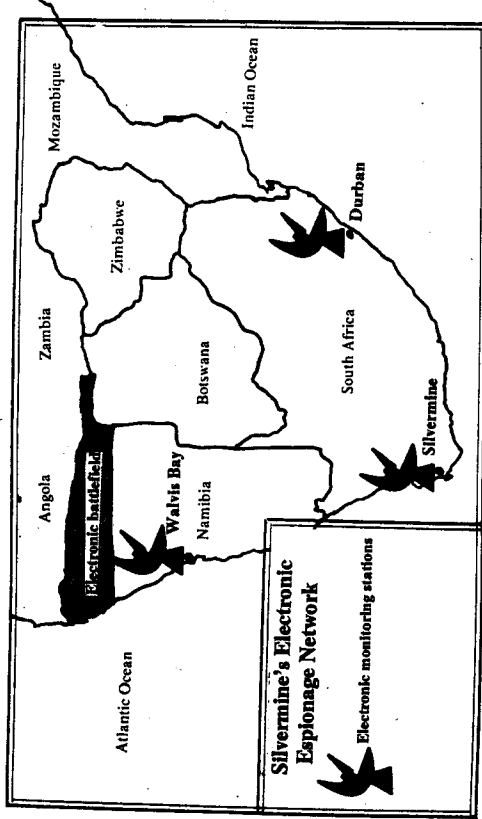
Critics, who claim it will never be fully effective, note the American experience with the IGLOO WHITE electronic battlefield in South East Asia. IGLOO WHITE, a system similar to that of the South Africans, which was supposed to monitor infiltration along the Ho Chi Minh Trail, was a complete failure. Many sensors were destroyed. Computers could not distinguish water buffalo from human beings. Many of its detection devices were countered by the genius of the Indonesian guerrillas; they placed buckets of urine in strategic spots to "fool" the sensors which could detect human body odor.¹¹ Critics doubt the South African government could do much better with Silvermine. The border area ADVOKAAT must cover is much larger than the Ho Chi Minh Trail. According to one critic, Silvermine's electronic battlefield intelligence and communications system "is just another toy to impress NATO."

NATO May Protect South Africa and Silvermine

On April 23, 1969, the South Africans published their Defense White Paper, the first open proposal from South Africa to join NATO forces. It stated that, "The considerable harbor and repair facilities in Simonstown and elsewhere in our country, as well as the modern communication and control facilities (Silvermine), all provided at great expense, are indispensable to Allied naval forces in the Southern Atlantic and Indian Ocean areas."¹²

Some NATO countries objected to the paper. The NATO treaty stipulates that an attack on any member country constitutes an attack against the Alliance as a whole. Although the NATO area of operations, at that time, stopped at the Tropic of Cancer (a third of the way down the west coast of the continent) and by definition there was no threat to any NATO interests beyond that area, NATO influence spread southward over the next few years in response to the South African appeal and their promotion of Silvermine.

In November 1972, just three years later, the NATO Council required that the Supreme Allied Command in the Atlantic (SACLANT) devise plans for the protection of supply routes



around the cape. This was further formalized by a resolution adopted on May 26, 1973 by the Council of the Atlantic Treaty Association's Spring Meeting held at SACLANT headquarters in Norfolk, Va. The resolution stated that:

"The extraordinary expansion of Soviet sea power in recent years has transformed the security problems of the Alliance, as defined by the North Atlantic Treaty. The Council of the Atlantic Treaty Association registers its concern at this development . . . that naval cooperation among the Allies is required outside the geographical boundaries of the Treaty area. The adjustment of Allied sea power to the Soviet east Asian nuclear and non-nuclear attack, and equally against maritime routes critical to the Allies in peace or in war — the sea lanes for petroleum or other vital supplies for example."¹³ (emphasis added)

This resolution, despite the guarded language and the absence of any direct reference to South Africa, clearly refers to the security of the Cape route. More than 25,000 ships pass around the Cape of Good Hope every year, making it the world's busiest sea lane. Over half of Western Europe's oil (seven million barrels a day) and about one fourth of her food supplies float past South Africa. About one fifth of all U.S. oil also runs around the Cape, from the Persian Gulf to New York.

European NATO members also showed interest in a NATO relationship with South Africa. In February, 1975, four French warships made a call at South African ports which were followed by visits of top South African defense officials to Paris.¹⁴

The British had been steadily increasing their naval exercises with South Africa since the late sixties. In October, 1974, a major controversy was provoked in Britain by one of these exercises. When the British Foreign Secretary was questioned in the House of Commons on November 6, 1974 by a Labour M.P., about whether NATO had become involved with South

Africa, Mr. Callaghan (now the Prime Minister of England), said that, "Studies have been made, but there is no commitment on the part of NATO members to engage collectively or individually in activities outside the NATO area."¹⁵

At a luncheon that same month, the Chairman of the NATO military Committee, Admiral Sir Peter Hill-Norton suggested that three or four NATO members with "blue-water" navies, including Britain, could combine into a group outside the alliance's framework to monitor what was going on in the Indian Ocean. In this way, he suggested a NATO "area of interest" could be established in addition to Europe.

West Germany's representative on the NATO military committee, Lt. General Gunter Rall, was forced by the Bonn government to resign in October 1975, when it was revealed he had traveled to South Africa under an assumed name to visit Silvermine and other military and atomic installations.¹⁶

Promotion for Silvermine

With NATO interest ripe for a liaison with South African defense forces, South Africa began selling the concept in earnest in late 1974. Dr. Connie Mulder, South Africa's Minister of Information and possible heir to Prime Minister John Vorster, made a two-week "private" visit to the U.S. While here, he met with Gerald Ford (then Vice President) as well as Vice Admiral Ray Peet, Deputy Assistant Secretary in the office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security, the Pentagon's "State Department."¹⁷ He met with other leading political figures too.

After the fascist regime in Portugal was overthrown in April 1975, a commander-in-chief of the South African Defense Forces, Admiral Hugo Bierman, a public advocate of a South African-U.S. military alliance, had a private meeting in Washington, D.C. with then acting Secretary of Defense of the Navy, William Middendorf.

David Martin reporting in the January 30, 1976 New States-

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a vast underground complex, eager support from NATO military strategists, the promotion of the entire South African defense establishment, and a hot-shot public relations firm to sell its message to America.

Window Peck served with the Air Force component of the National Security Agency in Turkey, Germany, and Vietnam, reaching the position of senior analyst. Since leaving government service, he has written several major articles on the NSA and has done extensive research into the activities of the CIA.

Footnotes

1. "South Africa, Simonstown, Sovereto, Shaka, Silvermine and Sep-raz Development," *Sea Power*, November, 1975, p. 29.
2. Critics of Silvermine include many religious and human rights leaders who prefer to not be so familiar with the National Security Agency's activities in South Africa because they were stationed at Amara Ethiopia. Others include several people who are the leaders of the counter-technology movement in Europe including Antoine Lefebvre, Editor of *Interference* magazine from Paris, a critical journal of information on communications. Another is Duncan Campbell, a well-known British phone freak.
3. "CIA Testimony on Soviet Presence in the Indian Ocean," *Congressional Record*, August 1, 1974.
4. Diego Garcia. A "Stabilizing Impact" . . . *Washington Post*, July 31, 1975.
5. "The Value of Diego Garcia," *New York Times*, June 2, 1974.
6. *Congressional Record*, ibid.
7. Interview with former Silvermine official.
8. Ibid. Also an interview with a former NSA analyst familiar with Southern Africa operations. They told this author that NSA has been monitoring this region for years from stations at Amara, Ethiopia, and Sid Said Morocco. Also the U.S.S. Liberty, a NSA spy ship sailed in this region during the 1960's as did a "tramp steamer" secretly carrying NSA SIGINT and Electronic Warfare equipment. The floor of the ship is being used as a base for the NSA's operations. The floor has for many years, supplied SIGINT information to NSA via NSA's top secret KNITTCOM communications network, using disguised destinations so that relay stations believed the source was American and not South Africa.
9. "The Marconi Troposcatter and its use in Southern Africa," a discussion paper by Jack Hall, Feb. 6, 1976.
10. Interviews with former NSA officials and leaders of African liberation movements.
11. "The Marconi Troposcatter: Straggle's Answer to War Crimes," *The Washington Monthly*, May 1971.
12. Minty, Abdullah S., *Apartheid: A Threat to Peace*, Anti-Apartheid Movement, 89 Charlotte St., London, 1969.
13. *Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg, Feb. 26 and Mar. 4, 1975.
14. *Hindustan*, Nov. 6, 1974, col. 1042.
15. *The Times*, London Nov. 6, 1975.
16. *Sunday Times*, Johannesburg, Feb. 3, 1974.
17. Burns, Maxine Isaacs, "Visitors to Pretoria," *Africa Report*, Sept., Oct. 1975.

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mean that the discussions were under the umbrella of SAC-LANT, claimed that the South African had argued that the Portuguese coup meant the southern prop of NATO had fallen and only South Africa could replace it. The Bierman visit culminated in an agreement to supply South Africa with NATO radar, electronic warfare equipment and codes. There is some indication that the agreement went much further and included standardization of South African equipment with NATO.

Several members of Congress have visited Silvermine including William Keuchum (R-Cal.), Phillip M. Crane (R-Ill.), Clair W. Burgener (R-Va.), Norman F. Lent (R-N.Y.), G. William Whitehurst (R-Va.), Bob Wilson (R-Cal.), Richard H. Ichord (D-Mo.), Harold Runnels (D-N.M.), John H. Dent (D-Pa.) and several legislative assistants to other congressmen. All have been extremely cooperative in arguing South Africa's position before Congress and the American public.

These promotional meetings and tours, which have caused anger at the State Department, have been arranged by Washington, D.C. firm of Collier, Shannon, Rill and Edwards, a law firm specializing in lobbying. The firm is known, among insiders, for their spectacular efforts to persuade the U.S. government to ban artificial sweeteners — a job for which sugar interests paid.

The *Argus Press Chain*, which serves English language newspapers in South Africa reported that a junior member of the law firm, Mr. Donald DeKieffer, was responsible for most of the firm's work for the South Africans. *Argus Press* described DeKieffer as "tough as he is bright, as brash as he is determined . . . a political mercenary. He fights the causes he is paid to fight. He is, at fifty dollars an hour, an expensive young man but he believes in results. He is, as a matter of survival, a winner. An American go-getter. He cares little or nothing for the merits of the causes he fights. But he is scrupulous in observing the special code of the lobbyist. He never lies to a Congressman. He never offers bribes. But he does make political contributions, usually by buying tickets to Congressional fundraisers."

Officially, DeKieffer and his partners have been hired to influence American policy toward South Africa on the basis of "mutual security". DeKieffer circulated a booklet called *The Republic of South Africa and the Southern Hemisphere: Political and Military Strategy* to many members of Congress and the Press. He contributed \$250 to Congressman Thomas Morgan and also contributed \$250 to Congressman Thomas Morgan who met with Dr. Connie Mulder less than two weeks later. DeKieffer also contributed \$100 to Congressman Louis S. Wyman who then met with Admiral Hugo Bierman.

Historical Error

In 1678, the Governor of the Dutch colony in southern Africa, Johan Bas Van Herenthal, was approached by two men who claimed to have found a rich new silver deposit in a mountain side near Cape Town. Van Herenthal, badly in need of funds to purchase arms for the Boer's war of expansion against African tribes, readily accepted an offer for the small mine. Only after the two "miners" disappeared with his large investment, did he have the mine examined. The "mine" had been salted — silver ore deliberately planted to fool prospective investors — and Van Herenthal had been taken by an old con.

Today the U.S. may ironically be repeating history and Van Herenthal's folly. Silvermine occupies the very same mountain side, three hundred years later. All the old silver mine had going for it was a few pieces of silver ore, a hole in the ground, a greedy governor, and the fast talk of two "miners." Today Silvermine has \$30 million in telecommunications equipment.

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Newsweek

CounterSpy 647,



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

The purpose of this memorandum is to review articles entitled "Agents and Informers" and "Counter-insurgency Comes Home", which appear in a quarterly journal entitled, "Counter-Spy", dated Fall, 1974 (copies attached). It is noted in memorandum to [REDACTED] dated 9/13/74, that this journal was obtained by [REDACTED] at a conference on the CIA and covert actions held in the Dirksen Senate Office Building on 9/12/74.

The publisher of the quarterly is The Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate (OCFE). "Counter-Spy" is self-described as a source of analyses and information on the practices, organization and objectives of U.S. intelligence.

Facsimile from an FBI report

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